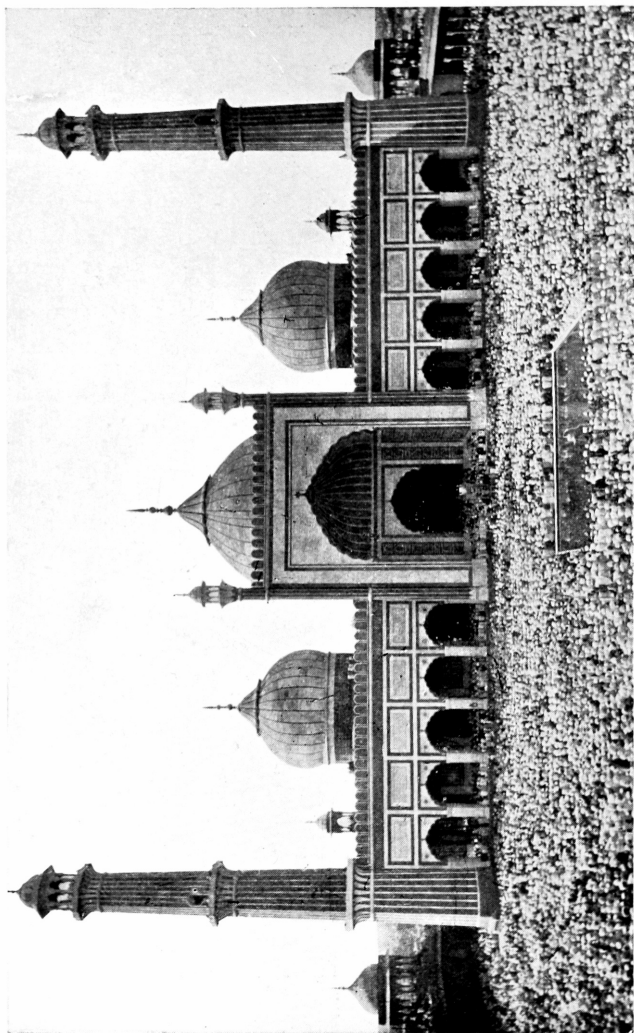


E
PROACH

LAM

T. GAIRDNER

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MOSLEMS AT PRAYER, DELHI

THE
REPROACH OF ISLAM

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AND OF

"EDINBURGH 1910"

CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY
SALISBURY SQUARE E.C.

AD MAIOREM DEI SPIRITUS GLORIAM
SPIRITUS IESU
QUI
ECCLESIAE
SOLUM EST PATRIMONIUM
MUNDI
SOLA SPES

EL CAHIRAE

DIE PENTECOSTOS MCMIX

EDITORIAL NOTE

THIS text-book, like "The Uplift of China" and "The Desire of India" is issued conjointly by a number of the Missionary Societies in Great Britain for the use of Mission Study Circles. The Editorial Committee have revised the manuscript, added to it in places, and adapted it for the use of these circles; and the maps, appendices, references for further study, bibliography, etc., have also been prepared with the same end in view. In addition, "Suggestions to Leaders" and "Outline Programmes of Study" have been prepared by the mission study departments of the various Missionary Societies.

The object of the text-book is, therefore, to meet the needs of those who study the text-book chapter by chapter and meet periodically in study circles for discussion. The chapters are not intended to be exhaustive in treatment, but each of them presents material for thought concerning

certain definite questions suggested in the Outline Programmes.

The Editorial Committee are grateful for the co-operation of all those who have helped in revision of the manuscript and in all other matters connected with the preparation of the book. Special thanks are due to the Rev. St Clair Tisdall, D.D., for the Appendix on "Mohammedan Sects," and for other advice and information. The Committee also desire to thank Messrs Oliphant, Anderson, & Ferrier, The British and Foreign Bible Society, and Messrs Funk & Wagnall, for permission to reproduce the illustrations facing pp. 8, 185, 241. They are also grateful to the Church Missionary Society for the kind use of books used in connection with the editorial work, and to missionary societies and private friends for the loan of photographs.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

IF this book cannot claim to be the result of any great originality of research, or depth and extent of reading, it may at least claim to be the fruit of ten years spent in the East in one of the great centres of Islam, and of some sincere hard thinking, which has been unsparingly given both to the object itself, as studied in experience, and to the reading with which that experience has been supplemented.

It is one of the galling necessities of such a task as this, that the author seems to be forced into playing either the advocate,—which he feels is partial ; or the judge,—which he feels is unfair. He hovers painfully between each position, content with neither. It must suffice him if he can humbly claim that he has tried to burk no fact and to blink no truth ; to weigh as scrupulously as he can words and judgments ; to give to all the facts that are known to him their full weight before embarking on that most perilous of all things—a generalisation. No writer of a

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book like this can pretend that he writes it without what friends call strong convictions,—enemies, strong prejudices. But he can at least see to it that all his views have a rationale; and that his fundamental position is not made void by facts which he refuses to face.

In Chapter II. acknowledgment is due chiefly to Sir William Muir's and Professor Margoliouth's lives of Mohammed. It has seemed to the writer that the grafting on to the former's view of Mohammed the considerations which are the original features of the latter's does, indeed, present one with a four-square theory, which covers all the facts of an admittedly difficult phenomenon—the phenomenon of Mohammed. The theory is somewhat complex just because the thing to be explained is very complex. It may seem strange to some that two views of the Prophet, which to them seem almost contradictory, should be adopted as supplementary. But it must be remembered that of all things in this puzzling world, the theocratic autocrat is bound to give rise to the most contradictory puzzles of all. Hebrew history itself affords no parallel:—a David was supplemented by an order of

priests and confronted by fellow prophets : Isaiah was limited by Hezekiah, Hezekiah by Isaiah. But what would David have been had he added to his sacrosanct claims as Messiah Isaiah's absolute confidence in his own inspiration, and had Nathan and Gad either not existed at all, or been only used to endorse all his actions in the name of God ?

In regard to Chapter III., all Christians must, one thinks, feel their debt to Mr T. W. Arnold, for throwing into such strong relief, in his "Preaching of Islam," facts and truths which had got twisted, or ignored, by writers on the subject. And if one expresses a doubt whether that writer himself gives an entirely true view of this whole subject, one must remember that he does not pretend to be judging what is, and what is not, legitimate in missionary extension, *in the sight of God* : he only claims to state what *Islam* conceived as legitimate, and contends that on the whole Islam has kept within its own limits, such as they were and are.

Chapter IV. is, the writer confesses, a frank criticism of Islam. It is at least a sincere one. Perhaps some would have liked a mere exposition. But is there such

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a thing as a mere exposition? The mere selection of the facts, or the way in which they are set forth, is in itself a criticism of them.

In Chapters V.-VII. the writer has to thank many friends and fellow-workers, who have given him valuable information in the course of a correspondence undertaken in special view of this book—especially the Rev. Canon G. Dale, of the Universities' Mission; Dr W. R. Miller, of the C.M.S. Mission to Hausaland; and Mr Reid, of the North Africa Mission, Tripoli. He is also greatly indebted to Mr H. F. Ridley, of the C.I.M., Kan-su, N.W. China, for two long and interesting letters in which he checks exaggerated estimates of Islam's numbers, strength, and potentiality in China.

In writing Chapters V.-VII. very unstinting use was made of Dr S. Zwemer's most valuable research and labour. The case would require an apology rather than an acknowledgment, did not the author know well how his friend and fellow-worker would view the making further use of his work, in the cause which he has done perhaps more than any one in this generation to forward.

Lastly, warm thanks are due to the

Committee of the United Conference on Missionary Education, for their unstinted labour in helping to mould this book into the form required for its peculiar purpose.

.

There is one word of explanation which the author would like to make, to avoid the chance of misunderstandings which would be especially regrettable. Throughout the book a very special emphasis has been placed on the Person and work of the *Spirit of Jesus*. If the whole book, in its entire scope and significance, does not explicate these words, the writer will account it to have failed. But this much may be said here. The expression is pregnant to the very highest degree. It means all that God in Christ is ; all that the heart of Him who was and is Jesus contained and contains ; His whole character, His whole view of the world and God and religion and man and man's healing—His *Spirit* :—all *this*, clothing itself in the lives of those who confess His name, taking flesh in the life of His Church. . . . For the rest, let the book itself speak ; it being well understood, that this insistence on the utter and fundamental necessity for a *spiritual* Christianity is not for one moment

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intended to disparage or throw doubt on the necessity of order and form, and all that goes therewith. But the vital thing is that they be informed by the Spirit from within. If not, they abide indeed, but only like the dried husks and pods that litter the roads after the life that once informed them and quickened them from within has fled. How are the pages of history, how are the countries of Orient and Occident, thus littered and strewn with the husks of churches, systems, theologies, organisations, rituals, forms, creeds, orders, canons . . . which the Spirit of Jesus may once have caused to grow! true organisms once, now alas! to all appearance little more than outsides.

But, ever and always "abideth hope." It was said of that Spirit . . . "that He may *abide with you for ever*." . . .

"Prophesy unto the wind, prophesy, son of man, and say to the wind, Thus saith the Lord God; Come from the four winds, O Spirit, and breathe on these slain, that they may live."

W. H. T. G.

CAIRO,
Whitsunday, 1909.

NOTE ON THE PRONUNCIATION OF ARABIC WORDS AND NAMES

No attempt has been made to distinguish the various *consonants* which are peculiar to Arabic. Such an attempt would have involved the use of tiresome diacritic marks, which disfigure the page and are equally useless to the reader who knows, and who does not know, Arabic. The only consonant that calls for remark is *kh* (e.g. in *Khâlid*), which is pronounced like the Scottish *ch* in *loch*. *Gh* has also been written:—it is pronounced rather like a continental *r*, *grasseyé*. But in difficulties let it be *g*.

Very different is it with the vowels, which can and should be pronounced approximately correctly. And if the simple indications given below are observed, the reader will find that he avoids the painful hash made by the non-Arabic scholar when he pronounces Arabic names without guidance, and he may have peace in the thought that his rendering is quite respectably near the mark, even when the consonants are pronounced as in English.

(1) A circumflex has been used to denote a long vowel.¹ And that vowel practically always has the accent. Other vowels in the same word are (practically) short.

(2) In words without circumflex it may be assumed that all the vowels are short. The accent is generally self-evident, but is occasionally noted (see next page).

(3) The values given to the long vowels must be the continental, not the English ones. That is to say, *â* like the *a* in *ah* or *spa*, e.g. *Khâlid* (*Khahlid*, not *Khaylid*): *î* like the second *i* in *quinine*, e.g. *Khadijah* (*Khadeeja*, not *Khadeija*); and *û* like the *oo* in *soon*, e.g. *Mahmûd* (*Mahmood*, not *Mahmyood*).

(4) The short vowels are likewise very simple: *a*

¹ The circumflex has not been marked in every case, e.g. *Islâm* has been written *Islam* throughout. [Ed.]

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like the English *a* in *man*,¹ *e.g.* Ma'mûn, (the apostrophe is sometimes written to indicate that the syllable before it must be finished up sharp and the next syllable begun afresh); *i* like the *i* in *pin*, *e.g.* Ibn; and *u* like the *u* in *full*, not like the *u* in *mud*, *e.g.* Uhud. In the latter word both the *u*'s are pronounced north-country fashion as in *full*, not *mud*, and the accent is on the first syllable.

(5) A few names have been given their conventional spelling when it results in a pronunciation sufficiently near to the original, and when a change would have seemed rather pedantic: *e.g.* Mohammed (accent on the *a*,—we have passed for ever from the days of Mahomet, pronounced Mayomett!). For the information of accurate persons it may be said that Mohammed is, properly, Muhammad, and Moslem properly Muslim, to which names the above rules may be applied. The double *m* in the former case is pronounced like double letters in Italian, not English: the secret may be discovered by the reader's discovering how, as a matter of fact, he has always pronounced two words the first of which ends, the latter begins, with *m*. Imagine, in fact, that you were saying to a child three nonsense words, pronounced rapidly together, moo ham mad. Try it. *Voici* Muhammad.

AYESHA. *Ā'isha*, first syllable long and accented and separated from the next two, which are short.

CALIPH. Arabic Khalifa, or "Successor" to the Prophet.

YATHREB. Both syllables are short; accent on the first.

MOSLEMS. Properly, *Muslims*; participle of *islām*: *i.e.* those who surrender to God.

OMAR. Properly, Umar; the first syllable is short, but accented.

¹ According to the true *Arabic* pronunciation; in Persia and India *a* is as a rule equivalent to the *u* in *mud*.

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NOTE

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An elementary text-book, "The Story of Islam," is also issued for use in public schools and amongst those for whom this text-book may prove too advanced.

For the use of Mission Study Circles reading this text-book "Suggestions to Leaders" and Outline Programmes of Study have been prepared. The use of these "Helps" is strongly urged upon the leaders, and they may be obtained by writing to the Mission Study Secretary at any of the above addresses.

To face page 1 of text.

THE REPROACH OF ISLAM

CHAPTER I

THE EXTENT OF ISLAM

THERE is a city, a garden-city, an emerald set in the glowing desert-plain, beyond the long ranges of Lebanon, beyond the snowy dome of Hermon, Damascus, one of the cities that are in themselves epitomes of world-history. That city has seen many a kingdom come, increase, and pass away. Gods many and Lords many have been acknowledged there, both before and since the day when a King, leaning on a great officer of state, confessed¹ Rimmon, god of Syria and of the plains, mightier than the Jehovah, whom he thought to be but the hill-god of a highland nation. But Rimmon of Syria passes away, and Asshur of Assyria, and Nebo of Babylon, and Ormuzd of Persia, and Zeus of Hellas. Last

¹ 2 Kings v. 18.

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of all comes Jupiter of Rome. But the time has come when **JEHOVAH**, the God of Israel, is made known, through His Son Jesus Christ, to be the God and Father of all.

. . . Who is this coming from Jerusalem, with garments drenched in the blood of saints from the city of Jehovah? A man with threatening mien is approaching this city of the ages. But a dazzling light from heaven strikes him down; a voice more terrible than thunder speaks to him. A divine work, begun then and there, is completed in a room of a house overlooking the main bazaar of the great city; and that man rises from his bed, redeemed and made whole, assured now that in this **JESUS**, Jehovah, the God of the whole earth, has fully and finally revealed Himself; that the future is His; and that nought remains now but to bring all nations of the earth to His pierced feet, through the power of His Cross and the mighty working of His Spirit. . . .

The mighty task is entered upon; it proves a costly one; blood, and tears, and lives are poured out on it: but the issue is sure,—the Cross has won the day! And lo, there arises in that great city of the East and of the West a glorious fane, where the One God

is worshipped through the Lord Jesus Christ. And the Cross, the symbol of Suffering, has become the symbol of Triumph, for it crowns the entire building, just as the building itself dominates the whole city and country. And so an order is given to one of the masons to carve on the architrave of a beautiful gate in one of the transepts of that fane a triumphant verse, in which Old Testament and New Testament blend their voices to the glory of God in Christ :

THY KINGDOM, O CHRIST, IS A KINGDOM
OF ALL AGES;
AND THY DOMINION ENDURETH
THROUGHOUT ALL GENERATIONS.¹

.

Yet to-day when the traveller stands in that city and contemplates that great fane, what does he see and hear? Within, long, even rows of worshippers are bowing to the earth. But lo! the direction towards which they bow is South, not East. . . . They are bowing before an Unseen. A low, subdued roar, like a wave breaking on a beach, fills the whole building,—they are proclaiming that God is One.—

But—they are joining another name to

¹ Cf. Psalm cxlv. 13 (Septuagint).

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His in their confession, a name that is not the Name of Jesus ! And that book which the Reader is now reciting is not the Gospel, nay, it is proclaiming to the worshippers that Jesus, Son of Mary, is neither Lord nor Son of God, and that He never died upon the Cross. . . . And when the traveller passes out of the building and raises his eyes aloft, he sees no Cross crowning all, but a Crescent moon,—a Crescent that reminds him also of a Scimitar.

The Church
Mosque.
The Crescent
displaces the
Cross.

This Church epitomises the character of the phenomenon that meets us in a most startling way almost all over the Eastern hemisphere. And the phenomenon is unique : nowhere has it the least parallel. For though there be many Sacred Books other than the Gospel, yet when you interrogate them concerning Jesus Christ they return you no answer either good or bad ; for they were written or collected long centuries before He came. And though there be many shrines and temples, in which many gods and lords many are confessed, yet none of them were ever Churches dedicated to the Name of Christ. The Brahman in Benares reading the Rig-veda,

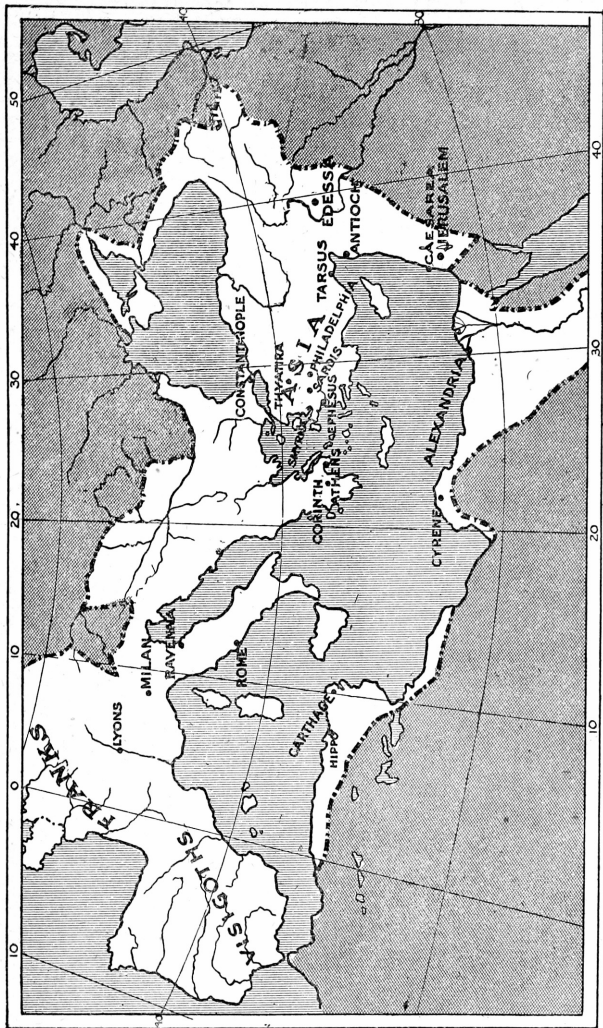
the Parsi with his Zend-avesta, the Buddhist, the Confucian pondering their Masters' wisdom,—know nothing of Jesus Christ; and their temples are their own. But in Constantinople, in Damascus, in Egypt—Europe, Asia, Africa—the Moslem is bowing down where once the Christian knelt. And this symbolises the fact that of religious founders the Founder of Islam alone is later in time than the Christ of God, and coming after Him is by many preferred before Him; and that his book alone claims to supersede, and alone denies, the Book in which the world is claimed for the Lord Christ.

“Europe!” yes, even Europe harbours **Europe.** Islam. It is strange that the land from which the visionary Macedonian cried out to St Paul, the land which was the first-fruits of Europe for Christ, is now mainly Mohammedan. In Constantinople (Byzantium), the capital of the Eastern Roman Empire, the foundation of the first Christian Roman Emperor, the city of the greatest of the Eastern Patriarchates, now rules the successor of the Caliphs of Islam. His empire retains only the shadow of its former glory, and its dissolution is often

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predicted, yet that dissolution is not in sight. Greece, Servia, Bulgaria, Roumania, Bosnia, Herzegovina have been wrenched from it ; Egypt, Cyprus, Crete own it only a nominal allegiance ; Arabia is struggling to be free from the "Shadow of the Prophet." But for all that the Caliph reigns in Stamboul, and the glorious Byzantine Cathedral of San Sofia, like the great Church of St John Baptist at Damascus, is surmounted by the Crescent. In Turkey alone there are two million Moslems, and in the Balkan States, now separated from Turkey, nearly one and a half millions. It is not generally known that there are many Moslems, mostly Asiatics, in European Russia, especially in the South and East. Once Turkey held Belgrade and threatened Vienna. Once Islam was supreme in Malta, Sicily, the Balearic Islands, and Spain, and the flood threatened to flow through Italy and France also. But by God's mercy it was rolled back, and Europe saved—if she will—for Christ. Nevertheless, the fact remains that in South-Eastern Europe, excluding Russia, there are 3,500,000 Mohammedans.

Turkey in Asia. In Turkey in Asia, though there are some fragments of ancient Christian Churches,



Centres of Christianity in the countries on the shores of the Mediterranean prior to the rise of Mohammed (*circa* A.D. 600).

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they are but islands in the sea of Islam. The weary continuity of oppression and persecution, both civil and religious, has broken their spirit, impaired grievously enough, as it already was, by superstition, and internal dissension, and decay. The great cities and sites which apostolic names and deeds rendered glorious are either lonely ruins or towns of no repute, at least no Christian repute. The candlesticks of the Churches of Ephesus, Sardis, Smyrna, Thyatira, Philadelphia, Pergamos, and Laodicea have been taken away.¹

As the steamer runs past the huge mountains of Crete, or the softer coastline of Cyprus, both places for ever associated with the name of St Paul, it is sad to reflect that those islands are to-day partly Moslem, and that though the majority of the inhabitants are still nominally Christians, the spirit of St Paul is no longer in their hearts and lives.

What of Antioch in Syria, with its great Patriarchate? It too is Moslem: the Antioch where the disciples were first called Christians seems to-day to bristle with minarets, sticking up like so many

¹ Revelation i. 11.



HINDU TEMPLE TURNED INTO A MOSQUE



CHRISTIAN CHURCH TURNED INTO A MOSQUE
(SAN SOFIA, CONSTANTINOPLE)

With acknowledgments to Messrs Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier

lances grimly into the sky. Northwards, all along the routes made sacred by St Paul's first and third missionary journeys, you shall find little save Islam. East of that, in Armenia and the Caucasus, Christian Churches—Greek, Armenian, Nestorian—struggle on against the overpowering weight of an Islamic social system.

And south of Antioch it is the same. Palestine.
The highlands of Lebanon, like those of Macedonia and Armenia, are like an island peak to which have clung many Christians since the armies of Arabia flooded the Syrian lowlands. It is the same as we pass southwards. Upper Galilee, Lower Galilee, Samaria, Judea, Damascus, Gilead, Moab—Islam rules and predominates in them all, and their Christians are “as a booth in a vineyard, as a lodge in a garden of cucumbers.”¹ . . . Crusaders failed to wrest *Jerusalem* from the hand of the Saracens, and to plant a Christian state in the heart of the Moslem world. That land where the Saviour trod lies paralysed, under the misrule of the Moslem Turk. The worshipper in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre may hear the

¹ Isaiah i. 8 (R.V.).

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Muezzin proclaim from the minarets hard by that Mohammed is the Prophet of God. And when he passes again to *Bethlehem*, he finds once more mosque, minaret, muezzin, and hears again the loud call that is intended to challenge the Saviour's claim to be the Incarnate Son.

Babylonia,
Assyria.

What of the Other-Side-Jordan, the lesser nations that galled the flanks of the Chosen People? What of the great desert beyond with its scattered Bedouin tribes? What of the great world-centre, Euphrates, where Babylon rose and fell, Mesopotamia, and the Tigris on whose banks rose Nineveh, the hammer of the ancient world? It is all the "House of Islam," as the Arabs call Mohammedan countries. It is all directly under Turkish rule. Once Irâk (the lower Euphrates and Tigris valleys) was the very glory of the Saracenic empire, and the great cities of Islam — Basra, Kûfa, Baghdad—came nigh rivalling the forgotten glories of Nineveh and Babylon. But now, in the decrepitude that has overtaken these parts, those cities have in their turn become a name for glory that has long faded. In these regions, too, there are broken fragments of ancient Eastern

THE NEAR EAST



Churches—Armenian, Syriac, Chaldean, Greek. But their eloquence is dead:—they are eloquent only of the coming in of Islam as a flood. Moreover, in all these countries, Babylonia, Assyria, Palestine, Syria, the old tongues of Aramaic, Syriac, or Greek, the tongues of our Lord and of the Church of the early centuries are largely disused, and the language of Mohammed and of the Koran is predominant, whether among the twelve millions of Mohammedans, or certain of the communities of Christians scattered like islands in the sea of surrounding Islam.

As we pass in thought down the Red Sea, Egypt. Arabia is on our left, Egypt on our right. The first is the nursery of Islam, the latter, once one of the glories of Christendom, is a Mohammedan realm under a Mohammedan ruler. In Egypt less than a million Coptic Christians still remain to remind us of the great Church of Clement, of Origen, and of Athanasius. But fourteen times that number, from Assuan in the South to Alexandria in the north, passionately disclaim the religion of their forefathers, and in town and village fill the mosques at Friday noon-day prayers, and call down imprecations on the worshippers of Christ and on

those who bear His Name and glory in His Cross. Here also the old language of the Church, itself a heritage from the days of the Pharaohs, has perished; in town and village, bazaar and home, in Church as in Mosque, the language heard is that of the extraordinary race which boiled over from Arabia in the seventh century, and streamed seething into all the world around.

Arabia.

And Arabia, the Cradle of Islam—that peninsula, the great extent of which we hardly realise (little smaller in actual area than India itself), Mohammed and his successors decreed should be wholly and totally given over to the Religion of the Koran. All other religions were utterly exterminated, and to this day the Christian travels there at the risk of his life, while to penetrate into the Holy Cities of Mecca or Medina is to forfeit it. Yet Arabia is not happy—it is rent by faction, divided against the suzerain power of Turkey, and weakened by the fever of fanaticism. Nevertheless, its four and a half millions of people, whether Bedouin or in settled communities, give whatever allegiance they are still capable of to the Prophet of Islam. Even the little Arab boy, in the utter hatred

of the faith of Christ, is taught to defile the Cross which he has drawn in the desert sand.

And if, leaving Turkish territory, we ^{Persia.} ascend in mind into the highlands that bound the Tigris and Euphrates valleys and the Persian gulf, the ancient land of the people that overthrew Babylon and were overthrown in turn by Greece, it is still the same. Persia—for as it was called then, so is its name now—is Moslem. The old religion of the Zend-avesta disappeared before the irresistible vigour of a younger faith, only finding a despairing refuge in Western India, whither the Parsi fled from the religion of Mohammed that he might cling in peace to the religion of his forefathers. And in Persia Islam reigns supreme, even though its Islam is deemed a noxious heresy (*Shia*) by almost all the rest of the Moslem world, and though the traditional free-thinking of the Persians has tinged their religious faith with a pantheism that makes it less fierce and intractable than that of the orthodox and traditional (*Sunni*) Moham-medan. None the less, throughout Persia all agree in denying utterly the claims of Jesus Christ, to whom, indeed, Persia was

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never won. The religion of the Crescent as yet holds the field among nine millions of Persians.¹

Afghanistan,
Baluchistan.

Between Persia and India there are two great lands inhabited by wild, fierce peoples, Afghanistan and Baluchistan. These two, with their five millions of inhabitants, are practically solid Moslem countries. In Baluchistan there were some heathen tribes, which might have come under British protection, and have been won for Christ. But diplomacy ordered otherwise, and under Moslem rule those tribes will be added to the one hundred and seventy millions of Asiatic Mohammedans. In Afghanistan the hatred of all who do not believe in Mohammed, and of Christians especially, is so fierce that it is practically impossible for anyone to preserve his life there whilst confessing Christ as Lord.

India.

In the great lands which we have left, with their forty-four millions of souls, we have found independent peoples under Mohammedan rulers. A marvel is now to greet us as we cross the great passes of the towering highlands between Afghanistan and India. We descend into the Punjab,

¹ See Chapter IV.

as countless hosts of invaders—Aryan, Semitic, and Tartar—have descended, and we find ourselves in a mighty Empire over which waves the Union Jack, and which owns the King of Britain as its Emperor. Yet this Empire of India is the greatest Mohammedan country in the world. Of its two hundred and eighty-five million people, more than one-fifth are devoted believers in the claims of Mohammed, firm deniers of the claims of the Lord Christ. These sixty-two million Mohammedans are found almost all over India, though their distribution is very unequal. In Bengal alone there are twenty-five million; in the Punjab, fifty per cent. are Mohammedan. This enormous mass of sixty-two million Mohammedans utterly surpasses the total number of the Moslems found in the lands of Islam's birth, and its early conquests, and its later conquests under the Turks, all put together. The Mohammedan subjects of Great Britain are more in number than those of any other power.

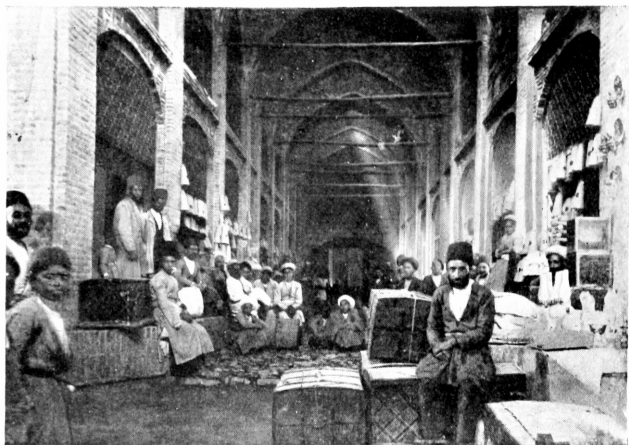
From whence came the conquering hosts Central Asia.
of the Crescent that poured into India over Khyber and the other passes of the North-West? That is a story which shall be

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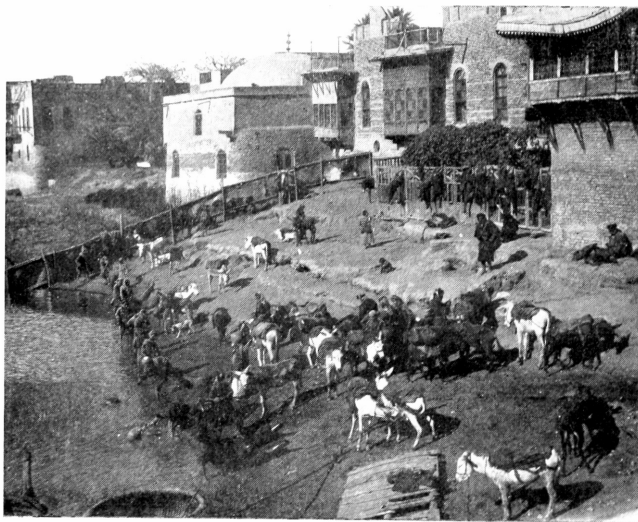
told in a later chapter : it may be said here that they were mainly members of the great Turanian family of nations which so powerfully reinforced Islam in Asia, after the energy of the Arabs burnt itself out, just as the negro races have so powerfully reinforced it in the continent of Africa. They caught the sceptre from the now nerveless hands of the Arabs ; they streamed west and founded the Ottoman Empire ; they streamed east and gave Islam in India the powerful start which it has used so well. Their home was in the steppes of Central Asia, to us a great, dim, bleak, unknown land. Into that dim region we must now cross in our thought-journey, for there, too, Islam has sway. Christianity has been there, little though the fact is known. Where is it now ? It could not hold its own before the irresistible forces—religious, racial, social—controlled by the Crescent. To-day Central Asia, except where it is Buddhist, as in Tibet, is Moslem.

Turkestan.

We cross the Hindu Kush and Pamirs, or, if travelling through Persia, the highlands of North-Eastern Persia : we come down to a famous country between the Oxus and



PERSIAN BAZAAR



RIVER BANK, BAGHDAD

Jaxartes, the old and still best-known names for the rivers that flow from the Pamirs northwards into the Aral Sea. Here was Alexander the Great's furthest limit; here are famous cities—Bokhara, Samarkand. . . . It is Turkestan, the land of the Turks. Almost all its seven million inhabitants are Mohammedan. Come eastward, into a territory that looks on the map as if it were bitten out of Tibet. It is Chinese Turkestan, also the home of the Turk, but in loose political relations to China, Western Turkestan being part of the Russian Empire. Here, too, are great cities,—Kashgar, Yarkand. . . . Here, too, in the very heart of Asia, Islam entirely predominates. But we go further north still, over the dreary steppes between Lake Balkash and the Aral Sea,—or cross mighty mountain chains and descend great valleys—the Irtish, the Obi,—we find ourselves in Russian Asia, in Southern Siberia: we arrive at great cities—Omsk, Tomsk, even to Tobolsk. The Crescent has been with us all the way! To the very boundary of Northern Siberia, almost to the latitude of St Petersburg, where the winter day is so short that the Moslem can hardly find time to pray all

his stated prayers, this extraordinary faith has penetrated. Fourteen million Russian Moslems, most of them Asiatics, more than one-tenth of the whole of that " Orthodox " Christian empire, cover those enormous tracts. For the most part, all over those millions of square miles, inhabited by a medley of races, Turks and Mongols, speaking a jungle of languages and dialects, all that is known of Jesus Christ is the Name of Him and the travesty of Him contained in the Book of the Prophet of Arabia.

China.

It might be thought that we have reached the limit of Islam in Asia : but we have only reached its Northern and Western limits. What of the East ? Through Central Asia, through the two Turkestans, lie the caravan routes of immemorial antiquity from China to European Russia north of the Caspian, and to the Persian Gulf south of the Caspian. Those dreary routes have been trodden hard by swarms and hordes of Turks and Mongols in times past. These Mongol Turks alternately raided China or sought her protection. Against them was built the famous Great Wall of China, to stem their furious and bloodthirsty incursions. Nevertheless Mongolian dynasties

have ruled in China; and it was to be expected that Islam also should flow eastward over the great trade-routes and play its part in China too. And so it has been. We talk of Confucian China; we think of that great people numbering one-fifth of the world's population as being one in race, one in faith. But are twenty millions of souls negligible? For that is the number of Mohammedans in China, most of them in Kansu in the North-West, but many in other parts of the north, and many in Yun-nan in far South-West, from which last it is easy to pass in thought to the one and a half millions of Moslems, also of the yellow race, subjects of another Christian power, the French, inhabiting the French territories of Indo-China. And thus we have come round full circle to British Moslem India, between which and French Indo-China there only lies the Buddhist kingdom of Siam. Yet here, too, there are one million Mohammedans.

If it is a surprise to most English readers to find out that twenty million of Chinese, indistinguishable from their fellow-countrymen in dress, language, and manners, confess Allah and Mohammed, and pray

East Indies,
Java, Sumatra,
Borneo, Celebes.

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according to the ritual ordained by the Prophet of Arabia in the name of God, it is perhaps still more of a surprise to know, lastly, that Islam is the dominant religion in the East Indies. We have seen that this amazing faith has claimed all the great races of Asia—the Aryan, the Semitic, the Turanian or Tartar. But one great race remains—the Malay; and it, too, Islam has claimed for its own. We have, moreover, seen Great Britain and France in their strange rôle of Moslem powers. Yet another Christian European power has sway over more Moslems in the East than over Christians in the West—Holland. Thirty million Dutch Moslems of Malay race are found in the immense islands of Java, Sumatra, Borneo, and Celebes. Only some seven millions of heathen are left in those islands, and between Christian missionary, and Moslem preacher and trader, an unequal race is going on for the possession of those tribes.

Africa.

And what of the Moslems whom the eye of our imagination sees prostrating themselves towards Mecca from the *opposite* quarter, from the West, the South-West, the South, those sixty millions of African

Mohammedans who also follow the prophet of Arabia? It is a far cry from the East Indies to the farthest west of Africa; from the Pacific to the Atlantic; from the frozen deserts of the steppes of Asia to the burning deserts of the Sahara of Africa. Yet both here and there has Islam easily penetrated, and easily holds a sway that seems well-nigh absolute.

From the border of Egypt the whole of N. Africa. North Africa to the Atlantic is Mohammedan practically to a man. Yet we are treading on the dust of martyrs, confessors, pastors, doctors of great Christian Churches. In Egypt there are at least nearly a million Copts to remind us of the Patriarchate of Alexandria; but in Tripoli what tells us, as we traverse the fanatical Barbary States, with their one and a quarter million of Moslems under Turkish rule, that we are passing over the territory of the Churches of Cyrene? In Tripoli the Greek tongue of Synesius, in Tunis and Algeria the Latin of Cyprian, of Tertullian, of Augustine, have wholly disappeared: the language of these countries is the tongue of the prophet of Mecca. The country now known as Tunis was a veritable centre of the Christian

faith. Its soil was drenched with the blood of Christian martyrs. Its confessors preferred torture rather than betray the Christian Scriptures. Its territory was divided into dioceses numerous to an unparalleled degree. The great name of Augustine of Hippo, the man who did so much to shape the Christian thought of the West, shed a lustre over the whole of that North African Church. Where is the fruit of all that learning, all that self-sacrifice? Gone! leaving not a wrack behind. The churches are in ruins or mouldered into dust. The Cross has disappeared before the Crescent, and men acknowledge a Book, which claims to supersede the Book over which Augustine pored, saved from sin and for God by its living words.

On through Algeria, the ancient Numidia, to Morocco, the ancient Mauretania, to the southern Pillar of Hercules; past it, round the long curve of the north-western coast where Atlas ends, and the Atlantic surf, which alone stopped the furious onset of the Saracen, beats upon the shore. Algerian and Moor, Berber and Kabyle make practically a solid Mohammedan people. Arabic is the tongue of the great majority of the

twenty-two millions of Moslems from Port Said to the Atlantic, and the Arabian Prophet alone they have taken for their guide. As the noonday sun passes over North Africa we might say that it sees the entire population turn eastward and prostrate itself towards the city of Mohammed.

What of the mighty regions summed up for us in the vague, dark names Sudan, Sahara,—the Hinterlands of Tripoli, Tunis, Algiers, Morocco ? It is but a geographical expression to most of us ; yet desert as much of it is, it seethes with life,—tribes that inhabit the oases, or wander over the great inland trade-routes from the Atlantic to the Nile ; and far more, in the Sudan, settled peoples who inhabit the lands through which flow great rivers, as the Senegal, Niger, and Benue : peoples dwelling in great and famous cities, as Timbuktu, Kano, Sokoto ; capable of organising great empires, like the Fulah empire of Sokoto which absorbed the great Hausa people, or like the central-Saharan religious empire of the Senussi chief to-day. This huge territory also is a “ House of Islam ” ; hot and fierce as its own desert siroccos, convinced of the absolute truth and universality and

Central Africa,
Sudan,
Sahara.

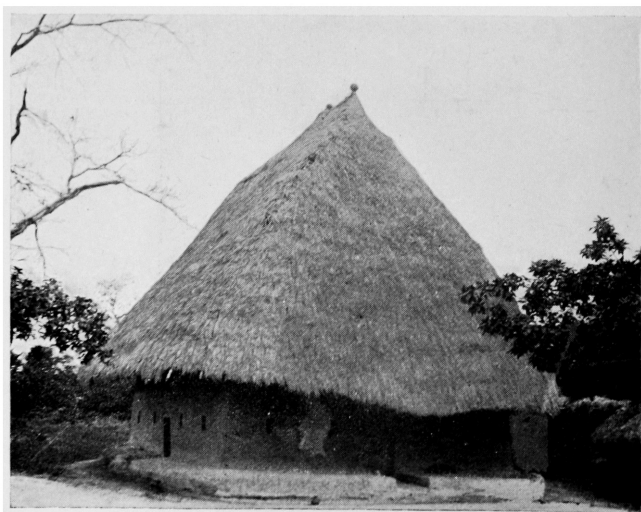
victoriousness of what is to them the one true religion. In the centre of this region, and northwards to the coast lands, the sway of Islam is absolute. There these desert tribes, fierce and violent as the Arabs of Mohammed's Arabia, are learning to-day a yet fiercer enthusiasm for Islam. In that heady desert air which makes men violent they know not for what, passionately eager they know not to what end, they are becoming organised and their minds disciplined to one sole idea, the only idea and the only interest which their narrow lives admit, the religion of the Crescent. South of that Islam has been and is ever still creeping on; now by great conquests, now by the gradual, sure assimilation of the ignorant tribes to their merchant-settlers.

West Africa.

In every one of the West Coast lands, from Sierra Leone to the Bight of Benin, a very considerable proportion of the population is Mohammedan, and for the balance, the heathen remnant, the contest is going on, and at present on utterly unequal terms, between Islam coming in with its dead-weight from the North, and Christianity coming all too feebly and fitfully from the South. In these great central and western



MOSQUE OF HUSSEIN AT KERBELA, NEAR BAGHDAD



MOSQUE AT ABEOKUTÀ, W. AFRICA

regions thirty millions of Moslems tell us of our great failure.

Coming south now, in this thought-journey Congo State. in which there has been so much to dismay and sadden the believer in the Christ of God, we find that, starting from the Gulf of Guinea, Islam has a firm hold in the French Congo State, where there are one million Mohammedans out of ten million inhabitants. Even south of the Congo they are found; and here it fills one with dismay to think how little the Congolese have had reason to prefer the system, the morals, or the principles which they might have inferred to be Christian from the practices of their "rulers." May God enable them to judge rather from what they see in their heroic missionaries!

Further east, in the Nile Basin, we find Islam threatening, through the sheer imitativeness of the Sudanese, and his fatal contact with Moslem officials, whether Egyptian or Black. Here, as in Nigeria and as in British East Africa, the *pax Britannica* makes a ring-fence, within which Islam finds exceptionally favourable opportunities of spreading Eastward still! And Somaliland spreads itself out before us—

Nile Basin,
Somaliland,
Uganda.

solid Islam with nearly one million people, Moslem to a man. Alas, and again alas! once more the Christian Church has made its ultimate task one hundredfold more difficult through being *too late*. But a little time ago these Somali tribes were heathen. Now they are fanatical Mohammedans.

Uganda.

In Uganda, on the other hand, the Cross has been in time—but only just in time. It was only by a hairsbreadth that all Uganda has not been Islamised. As it is, there are two hundred thousand Moslems out of a population of four million.

East Africa.

And all down the east coast and in the centre of Africa it is the same tale—Islam coming in like a flood, from the North and from the East, where Zanzibar is a veritable centre for the influence of the Crescent. It would seem as if this extraordinary faith thrives through its evil deeds just as easily as through its good, for there can be no doubt that the start which Islam has got in the interior of the Dark Continent is due to the operations of the Arab slavers, for all their inhumanities and unspeakable atrocities. Memories in Africa are short: the slave trade is largely at an end now, thanks to Christian England; and the

slave trader, turned respectable, is, in his capacity of honest trader, making Islam the *mode* in Dark and Darkest Africa. In all these regions down to the Zambesi there are believed already to be upwards of a million Mohammedans. And it is a stern fight between Crescent and Cross for the bulk of the heathen tribes.

Did we say, "Down to the Zambesi"? South Africa and the Islands.
 The Muezzin is heard in the numerous Moslem colonies in Cape Colony, Natal, and the Boer ex-Republics, as if to emphasise the fact that Islam regards the African Continent as in a special sense its own. And, to complete the tale, nearly two hundred thousand Moslems are found in the islands on the east of Africa,—Madagascar, Seychelles, Mauritius, Mayotte, and Comoro. In all Africa it is believed that there are nearly sixty million Mohammedans—nearly one-third of the total population, and beyond question their rate of increase is greater than that of any other faith.

The centre to which all Moslems turn is a Problem.
 black stone in an old Meccan temple. On the pilgrimage at Mecca, the African negro meets the Malaysian Moslem, almond-eyed

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Russians of Mongolian or Turkish blood from Omsk and Samarkand meet Indians from the cities of Punjab and Bengal, cultured Syrians from Beyrout, Egyptians from Cairo, Turks from Asia Minor and Stamboul. All this crowd of races, peoples, nationalities, and tongues own one faith: to the Christians' One Lord, One Faith, One Baptism, One God and Father of all, they proudly and contemptuously confess one Allah, one prophet, one sacred book, one sacred city, Mecca—that city towards which we may imagine one hundred and seventy millions of Asiatic, and sixty millions of African, Moslems turning daily as they prostrate themselves in prayer, facing inwards in one huge circle, from north and east, from west and south. This then is the phenomenon with which we have to do:—nearly two hundred and thirty million souls, in the continents of Asia and Africa, in addition to the Moslems in Europe, spread out in the form of an enormous Cross, the arms of which reach from the Pacific to the Atlantic, and its upright from Siberia to the Zambesi, and its centre and focus, physically as well as spiritually, *Mecca* in Arabia.

We have caught a glimpse of what this means—vast, almost inaccessible regions, whether of frozen steppes of Tartary, or of torrid deserts of the Sahara and Sudan; civilisations, great, unsympathetic; and semi-barbarous peoples, almost unintelligible to us; closed lands, such as Arabia, Afghanistan, Tibet; enormous distances; multitudinous tongues and races, Arabic, Turkish, Persian, Urdu, Tartar, Malaysian, Chinese, Bantu, Hausa; yet tightly united by a belief in one God, and a common faith which carries with it a religious enthusiasm in its adherents almost without parallel. A people bound together by this Faith and by a social system, which insinuates itself by the privileges it offers, the penalties it can impose, and the meagreness of the spiritual demands it makes;—such is the Islam which faces the Church of Jesus Christ at the dawn of the twentieth century of its era, challenging both its past, its present, and its future.

.

We are standing again before the Church-Mosque of St John the Baptist at Damascus. How its significance has grown for us since we stood there first!

QUESTIONS FOR CHAPTER I

These questions are intended to enable students to make sure that they have grasped the important *facts* in the chapter. They are not intended to replace the Outline Study Programmes issued for the use of Mission Study Circles.

1. Give all the facts you know about the Church-Mosque of St John Baptist at Damascus?

2. Fill in a blank map of the world showing what countries are (1) Moslem.

(2) Partly Moslem.

3. Fill in a blank map of the world showing what countries are (1) Christian.

(2) Partly Christian.

4. In what countries has Mohammedanism superseded Christianity (1) Wholly?

(2) In part?

5. In what countries has Christianity displaced Mohammedanism (1) Wholly?

(2) In part?

6. Compare the answers to questions 4 and 5, giving numbers of Mohammedans and Christians respectively.

7. Give the names of the ancient Christian Churches still remaining in Mohammedan lands and the geographical distribution of their adherents.

8. To what extent has Mohammedanism penetrated into Africa. Give sketch map, with key showing the distribution and approximate numbers of Moslems.

REFERENCES FOR FURTHER STUDY

ZWEMER, S. M. Islam—A Challenge to Faith, chap. xi. p. 226 ff.

The Mohammedan World of To-day, chap. xix.—Cairo Conference Papers.

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CHAPTER II

WHENCE CAME IT ?

THE phenomenon of Islam, as it is seen in the world to-day, is then, most startling ; it is one that inevitably sets us enquiring into its underlying causes. And naturally the first question we ask is, *Whence* came it ? And the second, *How* came it ? The answer to these inquiries form the subject of this and the following chapter.

A Journey backwards in time.

In the last chapter we took a journey on the wings of thought, in *space* ; in the present one we take another journey, on the same wings of thought, in *time*. Backwards in time we fly, leaving the centuries behind us, retracing the slow evolution of history :— how fast and how amazingly the scene changes ! Back, past the modern European period, with its formation of great nations ; past the fifteenth century with its two crucially important events, the fall of Constantinople and the discovery of the New World ; past the dim mediæval cen-

turies, with their chivalry, romance, monasticism, their popes and emperors, their kings and counsellors :—past all this, and we alight at a certain century when the Roman Empire, which three hundred years before had been divided into two halves, survives now only in the Eastern half, with its seat at Constantinople, the New Rome of the East, under the Byzantine emperors, the successors of Constantine the Great. For Italy and the whole West have been overwhelmed by successive floods of Teutonic tribes from the North, whose savagery is being slowly and hardly tamed by the Church from her metropolitan centre, Rome. Rome is no longer a world-capital, the city of emperors, but for that very reason she is the more conspicuous as the seat of the great Bishopric of Rome and the centre of the religious forces in the West. To the eye of a Græco-Roman in Constantinople, the West seems little better than a chaos.

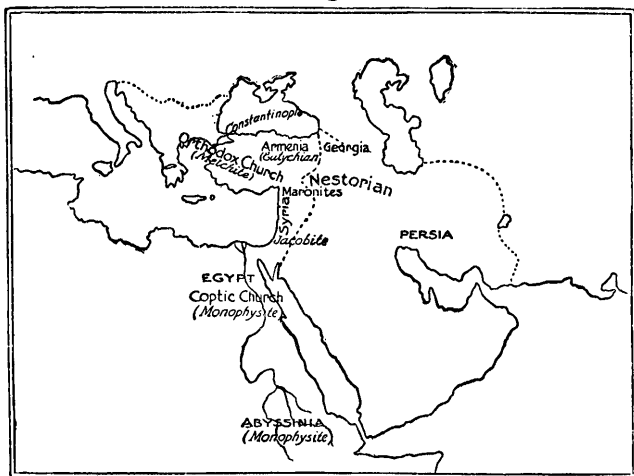
All the hope of the world as seen from Constantinople seems to lie in the eastern half of Christendom. The Byzantine empire holds sway over eastern Europe, Asia Minor, Egypt, Syria, and eastward as far as the great Persian Empire of the

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Chosroes. The latter, having extended northwards, has swallowed up the great Parthian Empire, the old enemy of Rome, while eastward her borders stretch towards India. The Persians are mainly Zoroastrians, believers in a god of good and a god of evil, Ormuzd and Ahri-man, and in the sacred writings of the Zend-avesta. Yet there are scattered through these regions, and through Turkestan towards the dim spaces of Central Asia, many Christians, with churches and bishoprics, the work mainly of Nestorian missionaries, who, with all their heresy regarding the doctrine of the Incarnation, are earnest "foreign missionaries" in these early days. For alas! the seamless robe of the Church has been rent; throughout the Christian world, Christians are bitterly divided among themselves. In Rome and in Constantinople there are already ominous signs of the division which actually took place in 1054 into the "Catholic" and "Orthodox," or Roman Catholic and Greek Churches of the present day; while in the East, the Nestorian Christians, and in Egypt the Copts hate and are hated by the Orthodox (Greek) or "Melchite" Church

of Byzantium.¹ In this century our Lord's prayer is surely forgotten: "That they all may be one . . . that the world may believe that Thou hast sent Me."

Such is the "world" which we survey at the end of our flight in time; for we



The Christian Church in the Byzantine Empire at the advent of Islam.

have alighted at the seventh Christian century, and this is what we, trained to make our outlook from the northern side of the Mediterranean, have seen.

¹ Appendix D.

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Arabia.

We had almost forgotten ! A country remains unnoticed in our survey—really so unimportant that it is hardly worth while mentioning it—Arabia, a barren peninsula, shut off from civilisation (we are Byzantines speaking) by three seas on three sides, and the desert on the fourth ; peopled by barbarous tribes, mostly nomads, some others settled in towns, but all of them utterly irresponsive to civilising influences from Europe. Rome tried her hand at administering Arabia, and failed ; Byzantium holds her now at arm's length, content if those hot-headed tribes refrain from troubling the marches of Syria and Egypt. For the rest, the Arabian is a familiar figure in Syria with his caravans, and his merchandise. As it was in the days of Joseph, so now, the Ishmaelite is the wandering merchant of the East. As for what that incomprehensible person does, or where and how he lives, when he returns to that dim Arabian peninsula, it is hardly worth the while of Byzantine Christian or Zoroastrian Persian to enquire. True it is that in extent this peninsula is an immense tract—its area is almost as great as that of India—but with such inhabitants as it

has, we, the world of 600 A.D., may really ignore it altogether.

.
And yet, before the century is out, there shall have arisen in that peninsula, and issued from it, a power which rolling on like a flood shall annihilate that Persian Empire, and shall be laying siege to Constantinople herself ; and more than half of that Byzantine Roman Empire shall have been lost to her for ever. Thus unstable and incalculable are human affairs in this seventh century.

And therefore *we* may and must seek to pass into that Arabian peninsula and see, with the eyes of its inhabitants, what is really going on there, and how the world beyond looks to the eyes of a certain Arabian named Mohammed, son of Abdallah, sometime caravan-manager, now independent citizen of the town of Mecca, the chief city of the tribe of the Kuraish, in the Hejâz or western coast district of Araby.

He was a posthumous child, born about A.D. 570, and his mother did not long survive her husband. The orphan was brought up under the care and the patronage of his uncle Abu-Tâlib. When a boy

Mohammed,
c. A. D. 570-622.

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he used to look after his uncle's sheep and camels. When a youth he had some experience of the desultory fighting in which the Arabs used to indulge in the course of settling the innumerable blood-feuds, which were one of the chief features of Arab society. And when a young man, he took his part in organising and managing the yearly caravans which went forth from Araby to trade. In this way he visited different parts of the Arabian peninsula, Syria, and possibly Irâk (the Euphrates region), and Egypt. So well did he manage the caravan of a certain wealthy lady named Khadîjah, that on his return, about the age of twenty-five, she bestowed on him her hand in marriage. By her he had children, and through her ample means he enjoyed financial independence. Thus he continued till his fortieth year.

That does not seem to be a very eventful existence; yet it was a life which, given a reflective and imaginative mind, might afford suggestion and food enough for thought, both in respect of what he saw in the Arabian Peninsula itself, and in the provinces of the Roman (Byzantine) and Persian Empires through which he jour-

neyed. Let us try to see what he saw, using the eyes of the man himself.

Arabia itself was a tangle of tribes and clans with hardly any cohesion. There was a common language, of course with various dialects; there were some sacred spots like Mecca with its bethel (Bait Allah) or Kaaba (cube), the names for the immemorial sanctuary into which the sacred Black Stone was built. There was a "Market" or "Fair" at Ukâz, and certain sacred months for attending fair or making pilgrimage, during which none might attack his fellow. These were the chief factors of unity, and slight enough they were, but enough to tell very powerfully when the right moment came. Students of Hellenic history will be able to trace a curious parallel for themselves.

In regard to social organisation, the nation was divided into tribes, the tribes into clans, the clans into families. The conception of the blood-feud tyrannised over the whole; if the member of one clan, or a man under its patronage, were slain, the clan of the slayer must yield a victim, or pay blood-money. Hence tedious wars, languidly pursued, terminating as in the case

Condition of
Arabia.

(1) Social.

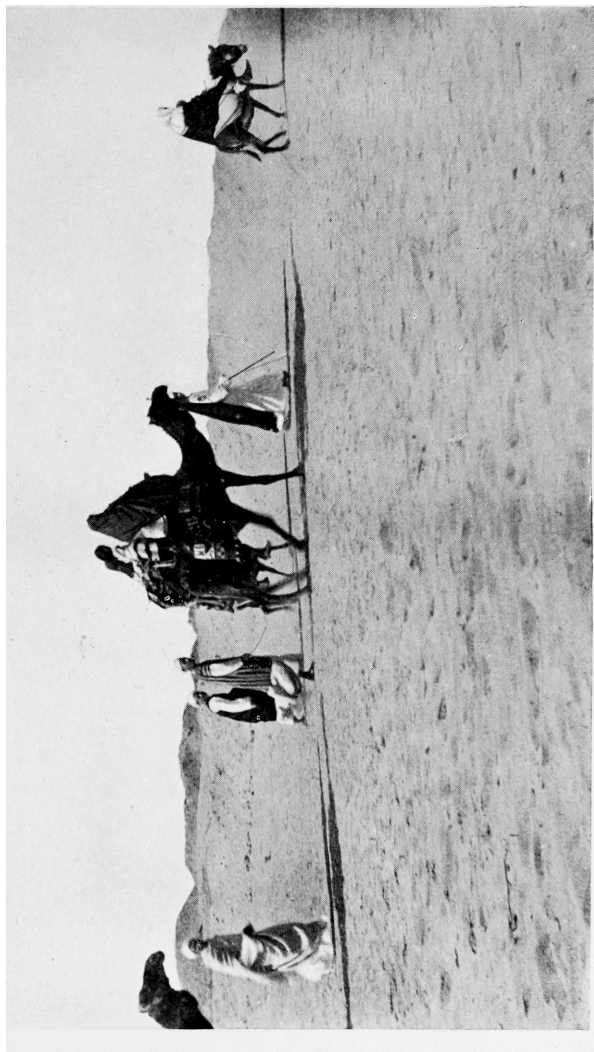
of the "campaigns" witnessed by Mohammed, in the balancing of credit and debit of deaths, and the paying up of the difference in blood-money. Did the young Mohammed contrast this futility with the strenuousness and the definiteness of the social organisations he saw abroad, comparing the impotence of the Arab nation with the puissance of the Byzantine or the Persian Empire, as witnessed by him on his travels? Why should these things continue, for the Arabs, having a great language, literature, history, tradition, and immense pride of their own, had all the ingredients of a great patriotism?

(2) Political.

So also the political contrast. Instead of a mighty king with his civil and military hosts organised under him, Mohammed saw a headless nation. Even the tribe-unit was headless, looking, for justice or for leadership, to a vaguely-defined number of local notables.

(3) Educational.

In education it was no better. The Arabs had no learning. Very few of them troubled to learn even reading or writing any more than Mohammed had done. The Arabic language was their only education. That marvellous tongue lent itself



CROSSING THE DESERT

to contests in poetry, in rhymed prose, in extemporaneous rhetoric. Assuredly Mohammed was no stranger to these contests; his tribe, the Kuraish, spoke the standard Arabic of Arabia, the *Attic*, so to speak, of the Arabian nation; and he must have had a good command of pure Arabic. It would, therefore, seem that the *uneducatedness* of Mohammed, of which such a great point is made by Moslem apologists, has been very much over-rated. Yet he apparently despised the forms of Arabic literature then in vogue. Was that because he had caught a glimpse of some real learning and education in his travels in Syria?

The Semite is a religious race; it was (4) Religious. not possible for a Semite, even an Arab of the Kuraish, one of the least religious of all Semitic tribes, to reflect upon social and political phenomena without coming immediately upon religious considerations; and between the two he would infallibly see effect and cause. The little limits of Mohammed's world gave him plenty of food for thought on this matter also. By the side of Judaism and Christianity—or even heathen Zoroastrianism—the religion of the

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Arabs must have seemed to him a miserable affair. Local deities with puny powers limited to their own borders ; a shadowy Supreme Deity, Allah, who at times seemed to pale before the nearer minor deities, and at other times to be the one supreme reality of all ; . . . but nothing certain, no open vision, no revelation, no prophet. Yet he had seen enough of Jews and Christians to know how much happier their plight was ; for Arabia was full of Jewish tribes or colonies and there were also in Arabia Christian monasteries and even Christian states. And both Jew and Christian had the tremendous prestige of *learning*—of being “ People of the Book.” Did not the Empire of Roum (Byzantine Empire) own allegiance to the Injîl (Gospel) and the Jews to the Tourâh (Law) ? Even Abyssinia over the water, at least a homogeneous kingdom, was subject to the Gospel. Why had every nation its Book, its special revelation from the divine, and the Arabian nation none at all ? Why had every nation, except his own, its own Prophet and Leader, the Jews, Mûsa (Moses), the Nazarenes, Îsa (Jesus) ? Even the Persian had his prophet Zoroaster, and his Book,

the Zend-avesta. Surely *here* must reside the reason for the hopeless futility of his nation and the favouredness of the rest of the world (his purview cannot have extended west or north of Constantinople, nor east of Persia)—“And lo! Jew and Christian worship Allah and say that He is one, and that there is no god but He! Thus it was revealed to the *nabi* (prophet), Moses, in the Law, and to the *nabi*, Jesus, in the Gospel. Truly it must be so. And they say that there is a Judgment Day, an assignment of reward and of punishment for ever, a Firdous (Paradise) and Jehannam (Hell), and that unbelievers shall be consigned to that Jehannam. It must be so! Are there not some of us, Warakah my uncle among them, who are seeking to return to the faith of our forefather Ibrahîm (Abraham)? Did I not myself in boyhood listen to the inspired Kâhin (priest), the Christian Bishop of Najrân, Kuss ibn Sâ'ida, seated on a red camel at the fair of Ukâz and preaching as though in ecstasy.¹ To this day I have not forgot that man nor his message. Then do I also testify—‘*Lâ ilāha illā 'ulāhu!*’ THERE IS NO GOD BUT GOD! . . .

¹ Appendix E.

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‘. . . *wa Muhammadun rasûlu ‘llâh*
...?!’ (And Mohammed is the Apostle of
God.)

“*Why not!*”

“Why *not* ‘Mohammed the Prophet of
Allah?’”

This thought once in mind was bound to come, and come again, and recur with cumulative force again and again. The spirit of enquiry was in the air; at least four well-known contemporaries of his among the Kuraish had been or were still enquiring after truth, after the reality of that One and Supreme *Allah* whom the Kuraish honoured in name, but not in deed. The thoughts that crowded upon a mind like his were therefore as the piling of fuel, pile upon pile, the material of a mighty flame of fire which only awaited the spark in order to burst forth.

Always a pensive man, he became, towards his fortieth year, more and more contemplative and retiring. He was wont to go apart for days at a time into the wilderness, for solitary meditation. His favourite spot was a cave near the foot of Mount Hira, a lofty, stony hill a few miles north of Mecca. Close by was the grave of

one of those four enquirers who had spent a life-time in the same search. The solitude worked upon him. The awful silence of the desert, which none who has not experienced it can appreciate, strained and strung every faculty of his soul to breaking-point. . . . Until at last It came. . . . A heavenly Shape appeared to stand, "high and lifted up," then drawing close to him — as it were "within two bows' length, or yet nearer": and It spoke to him: he heard It: and this is what It said:—

Mohammed's
"Experience"
or Revelation.
c. 610 A.D.

"RECITE!

"IN THE NAME OF THE LORD WHO
CREATED.

"CREATED MAN FROM BLOOD CONGEALED.

"RECITE!"

.

So, it had come! Allah *was*, then, the One and the Only God; He had sent His angel, Gabriel, to Mohammed; Mohammed *was* the Prophet and Apostle of God; and these strange, beautiful rhymed verses, what were they if not the beginning of the Arabic "Book" which should be to Mohammed and the Arabian nation what the

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Tourâh had been to Moses and the nation of Israel.¹

“VERILY IT IS NO OTHER THAN A REVELATION THAT HATH BEEN INSPIRED.

ONE MIGHTY AND STRONG TAUGHT IT HIM,—

ONE ENDUED WITH WISDOM. HE STOOD IN THE HIGHEST PART OF THE HORIZON, THEN HE DREW NEAR AND APPROACHED, UNTIL HE WAS AT THE DISTANCE OF TWO BOWS’ LENGTH OR YET NEARER :

AND HE REVEALED UNTO HIS SERVANT THAT WHICH HE REVEALED.”

The best proof of the reality of Mohammed’s belief in the reality of the revelation, and of the completeness of his sincerity, is that he fell at the first into a state of doubt concerning it. The first experience left him ardently longing for a second, yet the vision delayed and tarried. Khadijah, the faithful wife, was the witness and consoler of his mental agonies.

And after long waiting, of a sudden the same strange physical experience gripped

¹ It is notable that “Korân” (Qur’ân) is simply the verbal-noun of the first word heard by Mohammed from the lips of the Apparition,—“*Recite.*”

him. He was convulsed. Ah! at last the fit of prophecy! "Cover me, cover me," he cried to Khadîjah. And she covered his convulsed prostrate form with a mantle. And again the words came to him, in the same rhymed prose as before :

"O THOU THAT ART COVERED WITH A
MANTLE !

ARISE AND PREACH !

AND MAGNIFY THY LORD,

PURIFY THY GARMENTS,

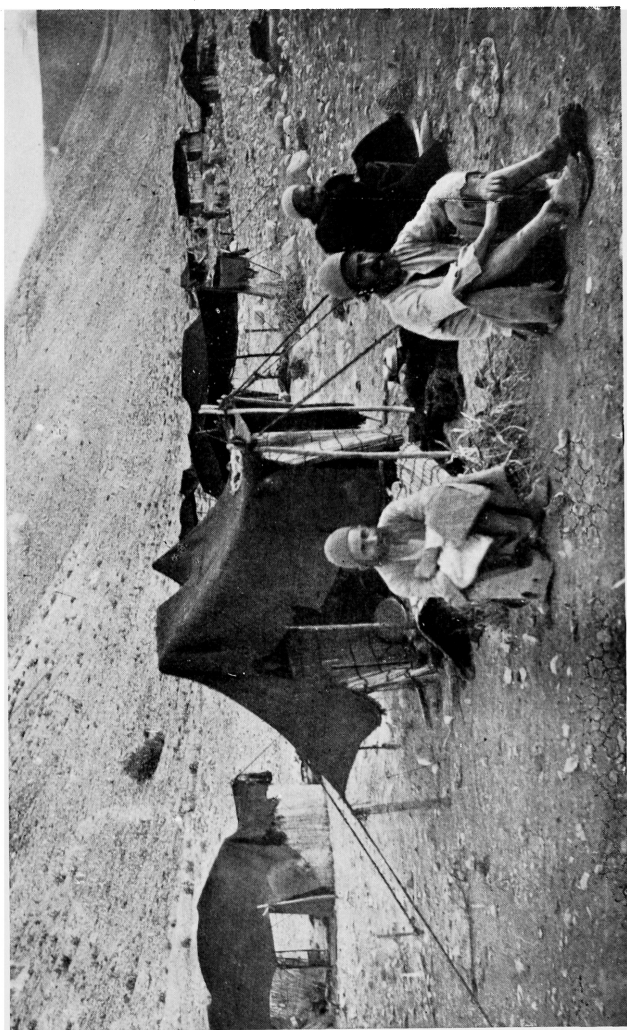
AND DEPART FROM ALL UNCLEANNESS!"

And after this there was no gap in these "periods" of revelation.

He was God's prophet (nabi), apostle ^{Origin of the} (rasûl), and warner (munthir). He had ^{Korân.} now a mission, and he lived but to fulfil it. The revelation-experiences remained in his mind, the essential part of the whole matter. As these revelations recurred, they were jealously memorised or written down, and after his death the collected sum of them constituted the "Scripture," the "Korân," the "Book" for the Arabian nation, endorsing the Scriptures that had come before. And to him, as to his followers, physical symptoms were what indicated

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the objectivity of the revelation: they would come on at all times or any time. . . . At first consciously sincere, unconsciously the realisation of the extraordinary utility of these experiences no doubt grew upon him. From speaking of the broadest and most general religious truths, God, the Resurrection, the Judgment and After, he began to expand and give detail to his themes. Then, as his contact with the hard realities of life at Mecca produced ever altering circumstances, it seemed that a Sûra (chapter) or Ayah (verse) came to meet every circumstance. Later on, after the death of Khadîjah, the fitness of the revelations to the circumstances increased, and ever increased, until they seemed to degenerate into sanctions for his personal needs, and notions, and policies,—and saddest of all, his revenges and his personal desires. At no point is it possible to say for certain: 'Here he not only was self-deceived, but was deceiver.' Yet the style of the Korân shows the change for the worse. As its sincerity, in the deepest sense of the word, seems to diminish, its subject-matter gets more and more mundane and prosaic; and with that the



DESERT LIFE

fire, the terseness, the rhymed beauty of the style gradually fades away into prolixity, tameness, obscurity, wearying repetitiousness.

We now turn to the development of events—covering about twenty years—between Mohammed’s second “experience” and his death, that we may understand how the Arabian prophet created the forces, which immediately after his death turned the civilised world upside down. This period divides itself naturally into two parts—the time of preparation before his flight to Medina (622 A.D.), and the time of the consolidation of his power, temporal as well as spiritual, after that flight. The consciousness of Mohammed, its preparation and development, must be very firmly grasped, for without this the whole narrative becomes dead and devoid of living significance; while on the other hand if that is grasped, it will be possible to abridge very considerably the narrative of events.

History of
Movement, c.
612-633 A.D.

The son of Abdallah stood, as Carlyle **First Converts** finely says, in a minority of one. But his faith in the reality of his mission was so unflinching that not for one moment did

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he hesitate to make his message known and call others to "submission" (*islam*) to it. His very first convert was his own wife. Her influence over him, and his over her, were equally great and complete, and her death (c. 620 A.D.) was an irreparable loss to Mohammed. The next convert was a remarkable man, his friend Abu Bakr,—a man who may be said literally to have saved Islam twice over; for, but for him it would not have greatly spread in Mecca during these early days; and but for him, as first Kahlifah (Caliph) after Mohammed's death, it would never have left the Arabian peninsula, if indeed it had escaped destruction there.

Islam as a
secret society.
Persecution.

It seems that at first the new religion was kept a secret among the initiated. Their numbers gradually grew, largely by the personal efforts of Abu Bakr. "Not many wise, not many learned" were called in those early days: slaves, many of them were. When at last the secret got out, and it became known that a sect had arisen that contemned and wished to destroy the national gods and idols, a persecution arose in which some of these poor people bore themselves heroically, in one or two

cases even unto death. Mohammed himself could not be touched—he was under his uncle's patronage, and to injure him would have been to start a blood-feud with the powerful Hâshimite clan, and this the Kuraish were not prepared to do. His own immunity, however, did not save him from obloquy and insult. But the sight of the distresses of his followers so worked on him that he gave them leave to deny their faith with mental reservation, if torture or death were threatened. There was nothing meek about Mohammed himself under persecution. His cheeks blazed as he denounced Hell-fire to them, and bitter as gall are the curses recorded in the Korân itself. He is said to have been of "middle height, with hair that was neither straight nor curly : with large head, large eyes, heavy eyelashes, a reddish tint in his eyes, thick-bearded, broad-shouldered, with thick hands and feet." He had a prominent vein on his forehead which swelled up black when he was angry—and this added to the effect produced by his denunciations.

The years passed on—persecution was real and vexatious. It is noticeable that some

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of the very best converts to Islam were made in this period, among them Omar, a brave and noble man, of whom we shall hear again as Abu Bakr's successor in the Caliphate. The fact of these converts in the midst of persecution must be taken as positive proof of their sense of the reality of Mohammed's revelation at this time, and its felt superiority to anything the old order had to offer.

Intercourse with
Jews and
Christians.

Of the followers of the former monotheistic religions, the Jews were the ones of whom Mohammed saw most. There were many of them in Mecca, and he did everything he could to win their favour. The Moslems turned to Jerusalem for prayer; the successively appearing Sûras (chapters) of the Korân dilated on the stories of Bible heroes with ever-increasing unction and detail. It can hardly be questioned that Mohammed's knowledge of these things came from what he heard from the Old Testament and the Talmud. The confusedness and grossly blundering character of his versions must be ascribed to the fables and absurdities of the Talmud, and to the natural confusion made by a man who takes no notes of what he hears.

His knowledge of the New Testament was even more limited,—in all probability he had never heard a word of it. The pages of the Korân itself bear silent testimony to the shameful fact that the only way by which the “Christianity” of that time and place reached the Arabian prophet was through the false “gospels” and the other literature of some heretical sects, which denied the divine Sonship and the redeeming death of Christ, or through the religious romances of the Church, which themselves ignored both, and in effect substituted for the Holy Spirit of God the Maiden-Mother of Christ.

The persecution of the Moslems finally became so vexatious that all who were not under the patronage of the powerful families were given leave to fly to Abyssinia, which they did. At this time even the starkness of Mohammed’s puritanism was relaxed, and in a weak moment he attempted a compromise between the new faith and the old.

The scene is thus described:¹ “On a certain day, the chief men of Mecca, assembled in a group beside the Kaaba, dis-

Attempt at
Compromise,
circa 615 A. D.

¹ See “Muir’s Life,” vol. ii.

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cussed as was their wont the affairs of the city, when Mohammed appeared, and seating himself by them in a friendly manner, began to recite in their hearing Sûra LIII. The chapter opens with a description of the first visit of Gabriel to Mohammed, and of a later vision of that angel, in which certain heavenly mysteries were revealed. It then proceeds :

‘ AND SEE YE NOT¹ LÂT AND UZZA,
AND MANÂT THE THIRD BESIDES ? ’

When he had reached this verse the devil suggested an expression of the thoughts which for many a day had possessed his soul ; and put into his mouth words of reconciliation and compromise, the revelation of which he had been longing for from God, namely :

‘ THESE ARE THE EXALTED MAIDENS
AND VERILY THEIR INTERCESSION IS TO BE HOPED FOR. ’

The Kuraish were surprised and delighted with this acknowledgment of their deities ; and as Mohammed wound up the Sûra with the closing words,—

‘ WHEREFORE BOW DOWN BEFORE ALLAH AND SERVE HIM, ’

the whole assembly prostrated themselves

¹ Arabian goddesses.

with one accord on the ground and worshipped. . . . And all the people were pleased at what Mohammed had spoken, and they began to say: 'Now we know that it is the Lord alone that giveth life and taketh it away, that createth and supporteth. These our goddesses make intercession with Him for us ; and as thou hast conceded unto us a portion, we are content to follow thee.' But their words disquieted Mohammed, and he retired to his house." The scandalised indignation of his followers warned him that he was on the wrong track, and hastily attributing the verse about the "exalted Maidens" to the suggestion of Satan, he returned to his former uncompromising attitude ; and the Abyssinian refugees who had returned, probably on hearing that a reconciliation had taken place, went back to Abyssinia, where they remained till after Mohammed himself had fled to Yathreb, afterwards called Medina al Nâbi. The traditional story makes Mohammed alter his Sûra, by a further revelation, on the evening of the day on which it was uttered.

The remaining Moslems, since they could not be touched, were boycotted, in the ^{Mohammed prepares to} leave Mecca.

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literal sense of the term. So severe was the boycott, and so precarious had become Mohammed's own position now that Abu Tâlib, his patron, was dead, that he decided to leave Mecca as soon as he could. The "sacred months" during which all hostilities ceased, and pilgrims from far and wide resorted to Mecca, gave him his chance. Some pilgrims from Yathreb, on arrival at Mecca, were accosted by Mohammed, who preached to them his religion. In him and in it they saw the solution of their own pressing domestic problems. For Yathreb was hopelessly torn by schism,—tribes of Jews and tribes of Arabs, divided against themselves and against each other:—a stranger, and outsider, with a politico-social religion like the prophet's, might well prove the unifying factor which they knew they were utterly unable to produce themselves. The men went back, secured the allegiance of many, and at Mecca next year took an oath to Mohammed. The story is told as follows:—

First Pledge
of Acaba,
April 621 A. D.

"The days of pilgrimage¹ at last again came round, and Mohammed sought the appointed spot in a sheltered glen near

¹ Muir, vol. ii., p. 216.



GROUP OF BATAKS, SUMATRA



MOSLEM WORKMEN, BOMBAY
KNOTTING CLOTH FOR DYERS



MOSLEM BOYS, N. AFRICA

Minâ. His apprehensions were at once dispelled ; for there he found a band of twelve faithful disciples ready to acknowledge him as their prophet. . . . They plighted their faith to Mohammed thus :—‘ We will not worship any but the one God ; we will not steal, neither will we commit adultery, or kill our children ; we will not slander in any wise ; and we will not disobey the Prophet in anything that is right.’ This was afterwards called the Pledge of Women, because, as not embracing any stipulation to *defend* the Prophet, it was the only oath ever required from females. When all had taken this engagement, Mohammed replied :—‘ If ye fulfil the pledge, Paradise shall be your reward. He that shall fail in any part thereof, to God belongeth his concern, either to punish or forgive.’ This memorable proceeding is known in the annals of Islam as the first pledge of Acaba, for that was the name of the little eminence or defile whither they retired from observation.”

These twelve men then returned to Yathreb, and preached with such extraordinary success that at the pilgrimage of the following year they were able to invite

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Mohammed to reside in their midst as prophet, and, *as was thereby involved absolutely*, as theocratic chief.

Second Pledge
of Acaba,
March 622 A. D.

A secret meeting was arranged at the same spot as in the preceding year. "One¹ or two hours before midnight, Mohammed repaired to the rendezvous, the first of the party. He was attended only by his uncle Abbâs. To secure the greater secrecy, the assembly was, they say, kept private even from the Moslems of Mecca. . . . Mohammed had not long to wait. Soon the Yathreb converts, singly, and by twos and threes, were descried through the moonlight moving stealthily along the stony valley and among the barren rocks towards the spot. They amounted to seventy-three men and two women. All the early converts who had before met the prophet on the two preceding pilgrimages were there. When they were seated, Abbâs, in a low voice, broke the silence by a speech to the following effect: 'Ye company of the Khazraj! This my kinsman dwelleth amongst us in honour and safety. His clan will defend him,—both those that are converts, and those

¹ Muir. vol. ii.

who still adhere to their ancestral faith. But he preferreth to seek protection from you. Wherefore consider well the matter ; and count the cost. If ye be resolved, and able to defend him,—well. But if ye doubt your ability, at once abandon the design.’

“Then spoke Abu Barâ, an aged chief :—
‘We have listened to thy words. Our resolution is unshaken. Our lives are at his service. It is now for *him* to speak.’

“Mohammed began, as was his wont, by reciting appropriate passages from the Korân ; then he invited all present to the service of God, dwelt upon the claims and blessings of Islam, and concluded by saying that he would be content if the strangers pledged themselves to defend him as they did their own wives and children. He had no sooner ended than from every quarter there arose a confused and tumultuous noise ; it was the eager voices of the seventy testifying their readiness to take the pledge, and protesting that they would receive the prophet even if it cost the loss of property and the slaughter of their chiefs. Then Abbâs, who stood by holding his nephew’s hand, called aloud : ‘Hush !

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There are spies about. Let your men of years stand forth, and let them speak on your behalf. Of a verity, we are fearful for your safety if our people should discover us. Then when ye have plighted your faith depart to your encampments.' So their chief men stood forth. Then said Abu Barâ :—'Stretch out thy hand, O Mohammed !' And he stretched it out ; and Barâ clapped his hand thereon, as the manner was in taking an oath of fealty. Then the seventy came forward one by one and did the same. And Mohammed named twelve of the chief men and said :—' Moses chose from amongst his people twelve leaders. Ye shall be the sureties for the rest, even as were the Apostles of Jesus ; and I am the surety for my people.' And all answered : ' Be it so.' . . . Mohammed gave the command, and all hurried back to their halting places. Thus passed the memorable night of the Second Pledge of Acaba."

The Hîgra or
Flight to
Medina, 622
A.D.

Nothing now bound Mohammed to Mecca ; especially as Khadijah, his wife, was dead. After some exciting adventures he escaped with a number of the Meccan followers, to be called for all time

“The Companions,” and arrived at Yathreb in June 622 A.D. Yathreb was henceforth to be known as El Medîna, “The (Prophet’s) City,” and from 622 was to date the Moslem Calendar, so that epoch-making year is known as “*Anno Higræ*” 1, the First of the “Flight” (*Higra*).

It is often said that from that time Mohammed *became* a potentate invested with worldly power, and that the theocratic character of Islam was from this time determined. The Medîna period gave Islam its *opportunity* to become a temporal power, but in principle it never was anything else. Let us be very clear on this all-important point.

Opportunity
offered by the
Higra—Tempo-
ral Power.

It is perfectly clear that in Arabia in the seventh century religion was, and inevitably was, simply the obverse side of the social and political organisation of the Arabs. Among them, as in all undeveloped communities, the social arrangement was indissolubly bound up with politics and religion. These three were a trinity that was assuredly an indivisible unity. A study of the Old Testament shows us that no other theory ever occurred to the minds of nearly all of the prophets

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and other sacred writers. To Isaiah, for example, the social, political, and religious position of Zion were three aspects of the same thing—Jehovah's election of the Israelitish nation to be His people. It was only the shock of the Babylonian captivity that compelled the beginning of the reconsideration of this theory, which nevertheless reigned even through the centuries of Judah's weakness and prostration. It was JESUS CHRIST who came to proclaim that the hour of separation between religion and world-power had come, and to rouse against Himself the deadly hatred of men who would not let go of worldly hopes, nor tolerate their separation from religion, nor assent for one moment to that Magna Charta of the first purely spiritual faith the world had ever seen.

"MY KINGDOM IS NOT OF THIS WORLD: IF MY KINGDOM WERE OF THIS WORLD, THEN WOULD MY SERVANTS FIGHT. . . . BUT NOW IS MY KINGDOM NOT FROM HENCE."

"YE HAVE HEARD THAT IT HATH BEEN SAID, AN EYE FOR AN EYE, AND A TOOTH FOR A TOOTH: BUT I SAY UNTO YOU, THAT YE RESIST NOT EVIL: BUT WHO-SOEVER SHALL SMITE THEE ON THY RIGHT CHEEK, TURN TO HIM THE OTHER ALSO."¹

¹ St John xviii. 36 ; St Matt. v. 38, 39.

The first Magna Charta—and the Last. For the Islam of Mohammed, coming after Christ, reverted to the lower types before Him. The Prophet of Islam was in fact precisely the type of Messiah after which the Jews of Christ's day hankered, and which Jesus Christ Himself definitely rejected, from the Mount of Temptation and from the Mount of Calvary.

The Kuraish saw clearly enough that Mohammed must join politics to religion, civil force to religious authority. The man who determined the fate of the Kaaba must *ipso facto* be the chief of the nation and remodel its entire structure; he must *ipso facto* involve them with the other Arab tribes for whom the Kuraish, as it were, held the Kaaba in trust; and the Abyssinian incident had taught them that he must *ipso facto* involve them with foreign enemies also; for Abyssinia had quite recently proved a deadly danger to Arabia in general and to the Kuraish in particular. Hence their vehement opposition to Mohammed, a political resistance at bottom, as many a religious persecution has been before and since.

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And what they knew, he knew. When he passed from Mecca to Medina, the opportunity had come; the day of physical weakness had passed, the day of power was at hand, power to be a Moses, to lead a new nation, to set up here in Arabia a kingdom where Allah should reign *through his prophet*. To deny Mohammed was ever to Mohammed an even more unforgivable offence than to deny Allah; witness his subsequent treatment of the Jews, as rigid deists as himself.

Summary of
History,
A.H. 1-11,
A.D. 622-633.

But opportunity, while it merely brings out what is already in a theory, may result in the deterioration of a character. And so we find at Medina after Khadījah's death the tares beginning to show up quite as prominently as the wheat in that mixed character of Mohammed, and that mixed religion of Islam. It is not possible to do more than indicate the history of the ten years that elapsed between A.H. 1 and the death of the Arabian prophet.

(1) Treatment
of the Jews.

First of all, the Jews were thrown over. From Medina a number of them treated with Mohammed's enemies in Mecca, and sent deputations to one centre and another in Arabia, denouncing Mohammed as the

impostor who wished to subjugate the peninsula. By their treaty made with the Meccans, each party was bound to oppose Mohammed as long as life lasted.

When the allies besieged Medina, without a good commander, the Gentile force soon dispersed, and after various negotiations a crowd of Jews suffered within the city. The men were killed, their goods seized, and the women and children enslaved. A great trench was dug, into which the bodies of the Jews were cast after decapitation. Had they accepted Islam these Jews might have preserved themselves and their possessions.

And before this there were private assassinations of certain Jews! These things are familiar enough in history—it is only when they are done in the name of a religion thought to be God's last word to man, and by one whose figure is taken as the eternal human ideal, that we exclaim—"The pity of it!"

The breach with the Jews involved the final decision to make Mecca the centre of the new faith. It had at one time seemed that Jerusalem might be the centre; now everything connected with the Jewish

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Faith was abandoned, new fasts and feasts and rites of a more material complexion were substituted for the old, of course all by divine commands, "abrogating" the former ones.

(2) Matrimonial
Life.

In the life of the autocrat of history also, matrimonial and other alliances and amours, play an inevitable and important part. Here again that part is said to be, and is of course to some extent, a matter of politics. The easiest way of binding this and that great family or nation to the autocrat and his house is by marrying into them. And in polygamous Arabia the method was so obvious that it caused no question. The size of a man's harem moreover is a demonstration of his importance. Even the practice of servile and captive concubinage may be palliated by the consideration that it settled the fortunes of many homeless women ; and, in the case of the conqueror, his fame as such could not be marked unless he took the noblest and the most beautiful for himself. And if these processes involved this particular Potentate's marrying more wives than his own divine law allowed, or taking unto himself women who were barred to him by the unwritten law of the

conscience of the community, such things could be smoothed over—by a very peremptory smoothing sometimes—with as many special divine commands as was necessary. Once more, the thing that disquiets is that this is the man who stands forth as the ultimate ideal of humanity, and all the unedifying matters of Zainab, Miriam, Ayesha, Rihâna, and the rest are dignified as the signs of God's special favour to His prophet. In manipulations of the marriage laws at which even sixteenth-century Popes of Rome drew the line, Allah showed the most accommodating spirit in seventh-century Arabia.

Finally, the methods whereby in ten ^{(3) Conquest of Mecca and Arabia.} years he became master of Mecca and of the whole peninsula :—in these once more, his actions, if judged by the standard of his time and by the character of the work taken in hand, excite little surprise. In some things they rose above the average, in others sank below. The secular historian would rightly find him great and magnificent for his indomitable faith in his cause ; brave, skilful, and dauntless ; clever in making capital even out of defeat, and quick as lightning to follow up success ;

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relentless where severity was profitable, but loving neither war nor slaughter for their own sake ; mild towards the vanquished, unless they had irritated him at some weak point. How much was admirable in his dealings with men ! how courteous he was to enquirers, how kind to children, how wise with his hot-headed followers ! And, informing and warming everything, there was that burning zeal for God ; which, begotten in those times of retirement at the first, never wavered, much though its quality may have deteriorated. Here are all the elements of a great man ; nay, a man of a unique type of greatness. Had it not been so, he would not have commanded the enthusiastic devotion of that first generation of followers, well-nigh the worship of the next, and the boast of all succeeding ones. Had it not been so, the hosts of Islam would not have gone forth, loyal to the commands of their great leader, to smite and to convert the world. . . .

Such, or some such judgment on the character of Mohammed is what is given by the secular historian, nay, by any student of human nature. Be it so !

“If there be any virtue . . . think on these things.” But, there is the dark reverse. For just as the best feeling and the conscience of the time was shocked at the man of God, who in cold blood slaughtered the males of a whole tribe of Jews in one evening ; or who induced the divorce and marriage of another man’s wife, and that man his adopted son ; so in this matter of warfare and conquest they were indignant at the spectacle of Moslems coolly breaking through universally binding pacts, such as the non-destruction of palm trees, and the suspension of hostilities in the sacred month ; or violating their word ; or outraging the very natural affections themselves, when believing son was heard glorying in the death-penalty that fell on unbelieving father, nay with ferocity urging that the executioner’s sword *should* smite and not spare. Spirit and flesh, gold and clay, higher-than and lower-than average human nature—such is the strange double phenomenon that Mohammed presents to us all through ; and with him, the religion he founded, the Book he left, the history he caused, the organisation he initiated.

The Meccans were vanquished, to put the

matter very concisely, through the strategic position of the Moslems at Medina. The position of this town, lying as it does on the trade-route to Syria, on which the very life of Mecca depended, enabled them to threaten and finally dictate terms to the proud, chivalrous, disorganised, and hopelessly futile aristocracy of Mecca. It is not necessary to detail the varying fortunes of those years; how Mohammed was soon driven by the starvation of the Moslems in Medina to resort to freebooting raids on the Meccan caravans, his victory of Badr (March 624), his defeat and set-back at Uhud, his successful repulse of an attack on Medina which proved the turn of the tide, the enormous accession to his strength as the Arabian tribes sought to come to the light of the star so clearly in the ascendant; his triumphant entry into Mecca (under a truce) to perform the pilgrimage; and his final triumph, two years later, when he entered Mecca, this time as unquestioned conqueror, and destroyed every idol in the Kaaba and the whole city, consecrating that bethel with its Black Stone to be the visible centre of the worship of Allah for evermore.

This event was of great importance. Mohammed had advanced on Mecca with ten thousand men (Jan. 630). There was little fighting—he was soon lord of Mecca. ¹“He proceeded to the Kaaba; reverently saluting with his staff one by one the numerous idols placed around, he commanded that they should be hewn down. The great image of Hobal, reared as the tutelary deity of Mecca in front of the Kaaba, shared the common fate. ‘Truth hath come,’ exclaimed Mohammed, as it fell with a crash to the ground, ‘and falsehood hath vanished; for falsehood is evanescent.’” Thus throughout the land idols were destroyed, but the sanctity of Mecca was to be cherished and perpetuated.

This last was a magnificent stroke of policy, besides satisfying his own insuppressible hankering after Mecca and its fetish, for it bound the Meccans, and the Mecca-visiting Arabs to the new régime and faith as nothing else could have done. The spiritual inconsistency of the procedure was only vaguely noticed by the people. Mohammed was clearly the prophet of Allah: let him do what he list—it was from Allah.

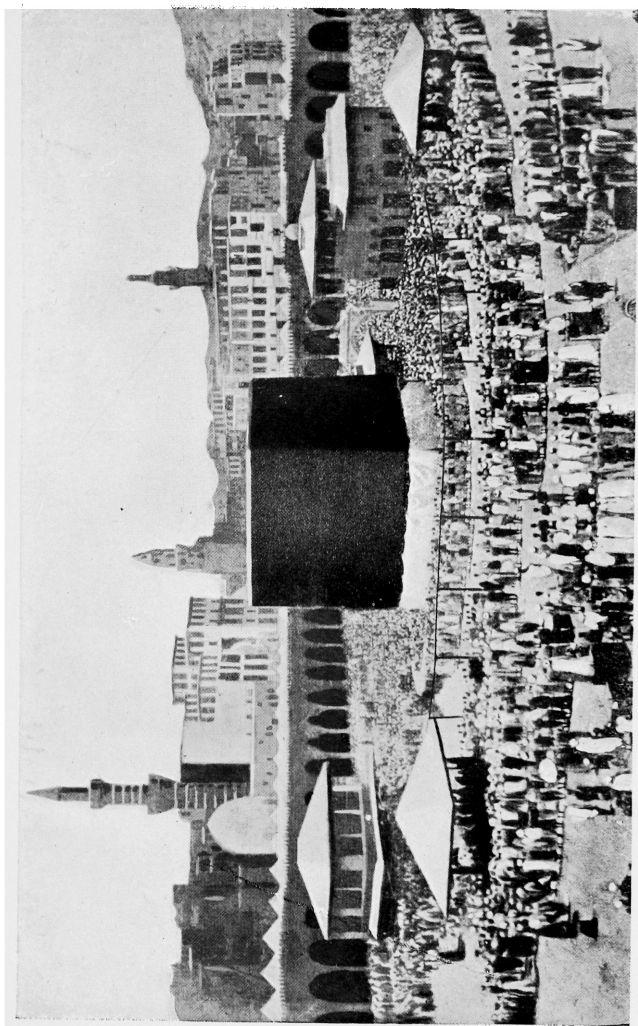
¹ Muir, vol. ii.

(4) Submission
of Arabia,
A.D. 631.

A term was now set for every man in Arabia to submit to Islam : Arabia was to be solid for Allah and the Arabian prophet-leader. “ *And when the sacred months are past, kill those who join other gods beside God wherever ye shall find them.*” The tribes knew how to take care of themselves, and came to heel. Their “conversion” was accepted with all complaisance, for Mohammed waived scrutiny into the motives of his converts as naïvely as Islam has done ever since. The Arabian prophet was undisputed lord of all Arabia.

Did Mohammed
realise univer-
sality of Islam ?

How far did the prophet intellectually realise the *universality* of Islam ? How far did he explicitly teach and command a world-wide propaganda ? That there was development in his mind with respect to this matter is highly probable. His original ambition seems to have been to be the Arabian prophet-leader, a Moses to his people. But he was one of those who move a step at a time and allow their dreams to grow, progressively with their success. He was too much of a man of action to be a thorough idealist, and too lacking in knowledge of the world scientifically to foresee all the im-



THE KAABA

plications of his own creed. But that that creed was in the very core of it at once universalistic and aggressive is even already, it is hoped, amply evident.

And to a very great extent Mohammed did dare to realise those implications. More admirable, more daring, and more captivating to the imagination than any of his Arabian conquests, is the "circular note" he sent to the surrounding realms, including Byzantium, Egypt, Syria, Persia, and others, in which with splendid audacity and faith he bade their rulers embrace Islam! *How* splendid were that audacity and that faith will, it is hoped, be grasped by the reader who has in imagination sufficiently entered into the relation of Arabia to the rest of the world, in the century to which we have been trying to transport ourselves.

(5) Despatches to Monarchs of Surrounding Countries, A.D. 628.

And at the back of that summons the sword already glinted menacingly, half drawn from the scabbard. Nay, the Rubicon had been actually crossed in the life-time of the prophet; for to avenge a slight on one of those ambassadors of Islam, a Moslem force had actually crossed the northern frontier and penetrated into Roman Syria as far as the

War with Syria.

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Dead Sea. The Byzantine official met the little force with an army. The great man must have rubbed his eyes at so mad a business, so much madder than he would have predicted of even those madcap Arabs. On that occasion indeed he sent them reeling back whence they came. But at the very hour of the prophet's death, another expedition, burning for revenge, was ready to set forth; and go forth it did, though all fickle Arabia was springing back like a broken bow. The raid met with success. The Roman authorities probably did little more than shrug their shoulders; but in less than three years, at the battle of Wacûsa on the Yermuk, in one pitched battle, these men of the desert had annihilated the Roman hosts, and Theodorus their general, brother of the mighty Emperor Heraclius himself, covered his face with his mantle, as he sat, unable to endure the intolerable spectacle of slaughter and of shame, awaiting his own end. . . .

Battle of
Wacûsa, Sept.
A.D. 634.

Death of
Mohammed,
A.D. 633.

We have anticipated the next chapter to make the reader realise how entirely of a piece the period of Mohammed's personal reign in Medina is with the period that immediately followed his death. His

own work was indeed done. He passed away in Ayesha's arms with a muttered prayer for forgiveness "for the former and the latter sins," *A.H.* 11, 633 A.D.

The sketch that this chapter has presented has been that of a very great man, with the mixed character of light and shade which the natural great man ever displays. We have seen, moreover, a man with a burning religious zeal, and this very fact perhaps makes the lights very bright, the shades very dark. The mixture is further complicated by the mixed character of his office, as uniting prophet and medium of communication between God and man with theocratic chief. But, summoned up inevitably by his own special claim, silently there rises beside him . . . the figure of the Son of Man. The man of Arabia, for lack of knowledge of Him, set up for his followers a universal ideal of character. Carlyle measures him with other man-made ideals, and finds him great. But *he* has measured himself with the stainless, the all-loying, and all-lovely Christ! And as that white life, from Bethlehem and Nazareth, to Calvary and Olivet, appears once more to the eye of our soul, how can we

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but find that other life-record, that dares to compete with JESUS, fall far short? And yet it stands as the ideal, passionately loved and defended by hundreds of millions of souls to-day, blinding their eyes to any other, be it the Lord from Heaven Himself. How is this?

QUESTIONS ON CHAPTER II

1. Give a sketch of Mohammed's life to his fortieth year.
2. Describe Mohammed's first "experience," or revelation. What was the origin of the Korân?
3. What events led to the Prophet's flight to Medina?
4. What were the relations of Mohammed to Jews and Christians at different periods of his life?
5. Do you consider that the death of Khadijah marked any epoch in the life of the prophet? If so, why?
6. Give a brief history of the chief events from the Hîgra to the death of Mohammed.
7. How did it happen that Mohammed exercised temporal power in his later life?
8. What do you know of the condition of Arabia in the seventh century?

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CHAPTER III

HOW CAME IT ?

THE whence of Islam was, then, Mohammed. What he was, what he taught, the way he took hold of mighty latent forces and subdued them to work irresistibly towards an end—in all *this* we found the primary cause of the phenomenon we saw in the first chapter.

In this chapter we are still, indeed, con-
sidering the same theme. The explanation Triumph of
Mohammed. of Mohammed is the explanation of the Saracens, as the Moslems used to be called. To understand why *he* triumphed in Arabia, is to understand why *they* triumphed in Europe, in Africa, and in Asia. The bitterness of our souls as we contemplated the failure of the Church in his case—a bitterness which was no unworthy passion—will be felt again intensified in this chapter, as we look on at the anti-Christian forces, the birth of which she did not prevent, now sweeping irresistibly through the world.

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The same deep pain with which we saw an ideal of Mohammed being set up beside the spiritual ideal of Christ, will disquiet us still as we see that ideal faithfully reproduced, to its minutest details, all the way down the centuries of history which we must now track. The kingdom of this world, of which he dreamed, was set up, and the methods which he sanctioned—with all their admirable, all their contaminating features—were with enthusiasm adopted and employed.

We have already taken two immense journeys, one in space, the other in time. In this chapter we shall travel both in space and in time, as we trace the history of the spread of Islam from the death of the Prophet, to the twentieth century of our era. In so doing we shall get a tremendous lesson in missionary methods, those which the Church might itch to use—yet must leave alone; and in that one which often seems very weakness—yet alone can avail.

What was the situation at the death of the Prophet of Arabia? In Medina there were a large number of men, led by believers of unquestioned sincerity like Abu Bakr and Omar, who believed passionately

Situation at
death of
Prophet. A. D.
633.

that the One, Almighty God, had revealed His truth to Mohammed; that the Word given to and through Mohammed was the Word of God; and that the remainder of their lives could only be occupied with one thing, the carrying out of the Will of God as interpreted by His Prophet.

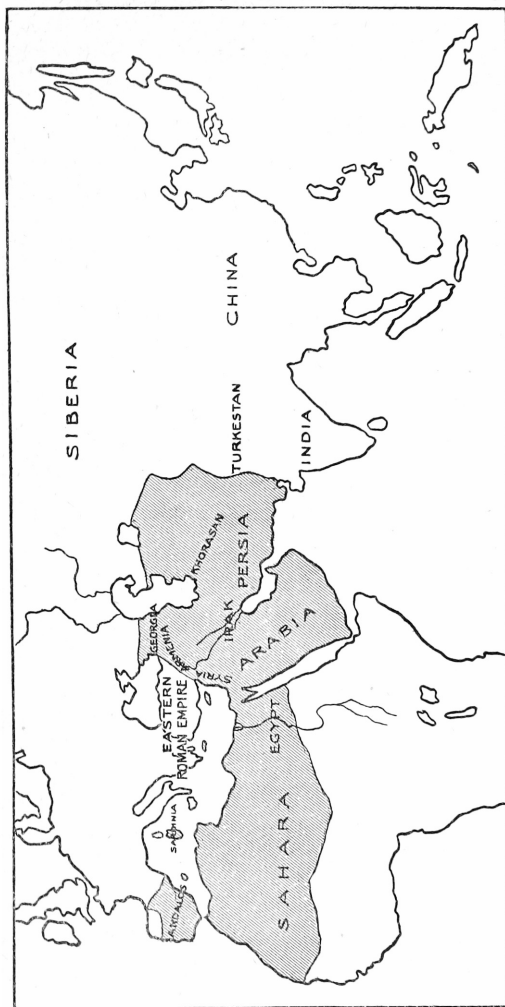
Such was the intense conviction of the inner circle of Islam. Beyond them there was circle after circle of believers and adherents whose faith and devotion varied very considerably, down to zero in the case of the Arabian tribes whose "conversion" had been virtually by pure force, in terror of Mohammed's last decree,—which was, in effect, a time-limit for those tribes, and, thereafter, No Compromise. These outer circles required, in various degree, many other stimuli of a palpable order before they became part of the missionary army of Islam. The driving-power was in Abu Bakr and the real zealots; yet but for the enormous majority, whose zeal required much and constant material stimulus, Islam could never have advanced beyond Arabia. Even in the case of the believing inner circle it is no more possible quite to disentangle the spiritual and the

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carnal strands than we found it to be in the case of the Founder himself. With many, the attraction of the wars of the Crescent must have been purely the stupendous material advantages which they soon held out. But true to the formal character of Islam no difference was made in the commendation and admiration meted out to the Moslem soldiers. Those who struck for God alone, or for God *plus* Paradise, or for God plus Paradise and plunder, or for Paradise and plunder without God, or for plunder pure and simple were all the Blessed of the Lord, heroes and saints, and, if they perished, martyrs in the "path of God," as the religious war, or Jihâd, was called.

Summary of
Spread of
Islam.

For purposes of clearness we may name at the outset the three main movements of Moslem energy and aggression. During the *Arab Movement*, which spread from A.D. 632 to 800, Islam took root in Persia, and northwards to the Aral Sea; in Syria; in North Africa and Spain. During the *Turkish movement*, to which we may add the Tartar or Mogul movement (A.D. 1080-1480), the influence of the Prophet was strengthened and extended in the Turk-



(1) Extent of Islam, A.D. 800.

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estans, China, India and beyond, Asia Minor, and the Balkans. In the *modern movement*, which dates from the end of the eighteenth century, and is one of the great world movements of our own day, Islam is still spreading in negro Africa with a rapidity which makes the Dark Continent the scene of the chief battle-ground between Islam and Christianity.

I

I. The Arab Movement.

To go back to the time of the Prophet's death. Almost at once the greater part of Arabia was in revolt. The first Caliph, Abu Bakr, had no time for reflection or discussion, yet he saved Islam. By a perfectly magnificent exhibition of fortitude, faith, and skill, he won through that hour, the darkest Islam has ever known. For at its darkest, he refused to cancel the expedition ordered by Mohammed on the Roman-Arab tribes on the Syrian border, which was then on the point of starting, though it denuded him of almost his whole available force.¹ "*L'audace, encore de l'audace, toujours l'audace*" was Danton's prescription for the production of a conqueror,

¹ See Chap. II., p. 50.

and well was that prescription justified in this case. The expedition returned victorious, and the moral result was immense. The Arabs were impressed by the stability of Moslem rule; and the stunning blows which the Moslem "gospel of the mailed fist" had speedily given them all over Arabia quite completed the proof to their genuine satisfaction. For such events *are* a real argument to such men. We may fall into an unconscious fallacy when we say "Force is no argument." In the highest sense this is true. But in the middle and lower spheres, where Islamic thought habitually moves, it is not true. To the Arabian Bedouin, force was a very real, solid, and true argument. He reasoned that if these men could twice bring him to heel they must be right and he wrong. Their Allah must be indeed the God, and his gods, who had failed to vindicate their own honour, should be abandoned. Henceforth with absolute sincerity he shouted for Allah with the best of the Moslems.

Meanwhile Abu Bakr's stalwarts have been re-subjugating the Arabs of the Peninsula. And now the work is done; the dogs of war are straining at the leash;

War with
Persian and
Byzantine
Empires.

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they are unloosed ; with what fury do they set about their work ! No formal declarations of war were needed. That came quite naturally. The tribes on the Arabian side of the border were in a state of violent, warlike agitation, one quite congenial to them, and collisions with the Arabian tribes on the Roman ¹ and Persian side of the marches were inevitable. Fighting began : the subject tribes of Constantinople and Persia were of course supported by their suzerains—the Roman Emperor Heraclius had already two scores to settle against the Arabs—and the Moslems in two seething streams crossed the marches and hurled themselves on the two Empires that between them controlled the East. Filled with burning, furious zeal for Allah and Paradise, and intoxicated with the hope of spoil and that hope's dazzling fulfilment, they flung themselves on the Persian and the Græco-Roman armies. The numbers in these armies could not make up for the fact that they were slaves dressed as soldiers. Their religion, paralysed by its unspirituality, and made futile by its factiousness, failed them

¹ Eastern or Byzantine Roman Empire.

against men possessed at least with a faith in living and irresistible deity. One great battle at Wacûsa on the Fall of Syria. Yermuk (634), and the power of Constantinople in Syria went with a crash, as horrible as that of the living bodies which, penned by the Moslems from behind, went helplessly over the precipices on that awful field, crashing, whole companies at once, to the bottom of the gorge beneath. The Byzantine Empire retired to Asia Minor after the loss of Syria, and there held a precarious frontier against the Moslem East. Later on it could even retire from Asia, and maintain an isolated existence in Constantinople. Thus it was not for eight hundred years that the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire was completed by the fall of its last fragment, the city of Constantine itself (1453).

At the battle of Kâdesîya (635) the back- Fall of Persia. bone of the Persian resistance was broken, and the capital, Medain, taken. Eight more years of hard campaigning, and the whole of Persia was in the hands of the Moslems;—once the heart of the Empire was touched, it collapsed with a crash owing to its excessive centralisation.

Egypt.

And so, in only *eleven* years after the prophet's death, the Moslems had utterly vanquished the two great Empires of the seventh-century world, and were administering all Persia and all Roman Syria with Palestine—nay, Egypt also, for in 640 the Moslems were made masters of Egypt, as much by the shameful reciprocal animosity of the two great Christian sects there, as by the force of their own arms. Amr, the son of El Âs, pitched his tent near the spot where El Kâhira (Cairo) was afterwards to rise, and the Christian rule in Egypt was at an end. And that first decade was the merest beginning. Westwards and eastwards rolled the lava-streams from the ceaselessly active crater of Arabia. *Westwards*, over Barca, Tripoli, Tunis, Algeria, Morocco (to use their modern names), and barely *thirty years* after the Founder's death, Akbar was furiously spurring his horse into the Atlantic rollers (what a subject for a picture!) with the same intoxicated impulse for Westward Ho! in which he anticipates the heroes of nine centuries later.¹

N. Africa.

¹ *Of.* p. 94.

The Atlantic alone resisted the Moslem Spain charge. But it could not arrest it; it did but divert it. The Straits of Gibraltar were crossed, and Andalusian Spain was entered. By the end of the first century well nigh the whole of Spain was subjugated, and the South of France boldly penetrated. The victory of Charles Martel at Tours in 732, exactly one hundred years after Mohammed's death, was the first sign that God's Destroying Angel was staying his sword over those western Christian lands. The Moslems were hurled back from France, but for many centuries Spain was still theirs. Europe had another narrow escape in the next century: in 846 Rome "was partially sacked by the Moslems and only saved by the bravery of Leo IV." Crete was occupied in 823, Sicily in 878. The Moslem grip on South Italy was not relaxed till the eleventh century.

Meanwhile, *eastwards*, the never-ceasing Asia. waves of conquest were rolling on over the province of Khorasan (Northern Persia) to the Caspian, and as far as the Oxus itself; and by the end of the century they were even crossing the Oxus. The

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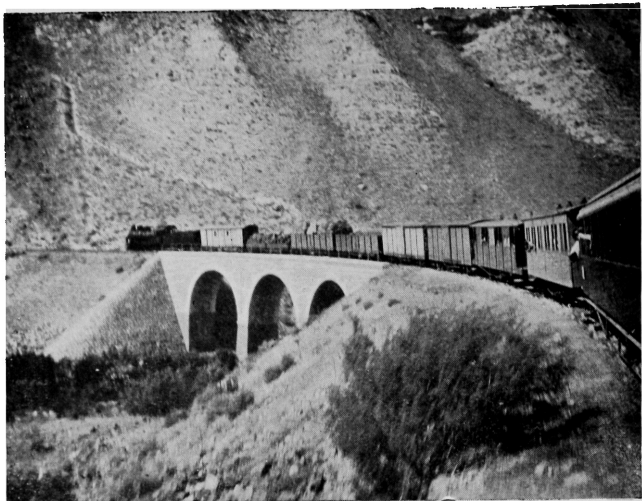
Turkestan.

great cities of Balkh (*c.* 705), Bokhara (*c.* 709), and Samarkand (*c.* 712)—Christian cities!—fell to them; and their territory was with difficulty subdued and settled. The district now known as Turkestan has thus been invaded, and the Moslem general, Kutaiba, is reaching to the very furthest confine of Alexander's old Empire. By the year 714, he is even said to have advanced through Eastern Turkestan (now "Chinese Turkestan" in the maps), to Turfan on the very borders of the Chinese Empire, "imposing Islam as he went."

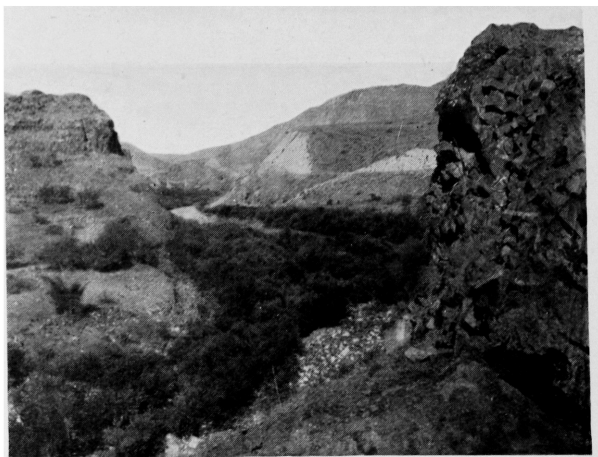
China.

In 755 China proper was reached,¹ for there was a regular trade route through Central Asia between China and Turkestan. The Caliph had sent four thousand troops to the assistance of the Emperor against his own commander-in-chief, and when their work was done, these soldiers were settled in Yun-nan as a reward for their services. There by intermarriage and preaching they won many to the faith. Yet even before this, even in the lifetime of the Prophet, a Moslem enthusiast, using the regular sea-route between Araby and China, had

¹ See Chap. XVI. in "The Mohammedan World of To-day."



ANCIENT VALLEY OF YERMUK, NEAR WACÛSA
MODERN PART OF NEW LINE TO HEJÂZ, ARABIA



VALLEY OF YERMUK, SCENE OF BATTLE OF WACÛSA
(see p. 85)

preached in Canton, apparently with success! The Chinese Mohammedans themselves speak of an uncle of the Prophet, who was received as envoy at the Chinese court in 628.

Thus the interior of Asia, with its Turanian, *i.e.* Turkish, Tartar, and Mongol, races had been decisively reached. And the commingling of Arab with Turkish blood that then ensued was to have results of vastest importance, reaching down to our own day, as we shall see immediately.

When we add (to complete the picture Asia Minor. of that first resistless onrush) that Cyprus fell in 648, Rhodes in 653, and that Moslem armies pushed through Asia Minor to the gates of Constantinople itself, which was twice besieged, in 668 and 716, enough has been said to indicate with sufficient clearness both the extent and the intense momentum of this first Moslem period.

And now in the lull of the tenth century, ere the Turks take the Sword of Islam from the now palsied Arab hand, and while Europe is still maturing the mighty forces that are presently to produce the Crusades, and later on the nations of to-day, let us pause and set ourselves with earnestness to

**Causes of
Moslem
Success.**

study the causes which led to these Moslem successes. The more truthful our enquiry, the more fruitful it will be in suggestiveness and in result.

(1) Religions :
Zeal for God.

(1) No answer is worth anything that does not take into account the burning enthusiasm which their new faith gave these sons of the desert. It had suddenly made them feel that they were a nation, and more, that they were God's chosen nation. "The Sword!" cries Carlyle . . . "that he take a sword, and try to propagate with that, will do little for him. You must first get your sword!" And where did Mohammed get his sword? We tried to arrive at a just answer to this question in the last chapter, and that answer is, to a large extent, the answer to the further question, "Where did the *Moslem* get his Sword?" The primary impulse, as in the case of the founder, so in that of his followers, was given by a zeal for living Deity, which indeed varied in degrees of purity very greatly, but nevertheless was alive, and was kinetic in those Moslem armies. After the first momentum had been acquired, all sorts of secondary, and very material, motives were found neces-

sary to sustain it. But even this does not alter the fact that at the headquarters at Medina, for the years during the reigns of Abu Bakr and Omar, the first two Caliphs, the warlike operations were directed with a self-devotion, an uncorrupt sense of duty and responsibility, a simple enthusiasm, that can only be compared with those of a Cromwell. And there were many in the armies at the front of the same moral calibre as these Ironsides of Islam at headquarters.

(2) But however purely burned a zeal ^{(2) Political :} for God and His cause in the breasts of ^{Zeal for Plunder} these Moslems, it never lacked powerful ^{and Slaves.} reinforcements of a very concrete nature. The Prophet had given a law by which the spoil was distributed to those who shared in his expeditions : and the Arab, who in becoming a Moslem emphatically remained an Arab, was touched by Mohammed's practice at his most responsive point. The Arab passion for war, wine, spoil, and women was only limited by his new religious principles in regard to the second of these particulars, and the absolutely unlimited extension, nay, holy sanction, which those principles now gave to his righteous indulg-

ence in the other three, bound him hand and soul to the Cause in this life : while, in case of his life being forfeited, rewards of an exactly similar character, infinitely intensified, were promised him in the next world. In the time of the Prophet the appetite for spoil had been thoroughly whetted. In the war with the apostates after his death it was well seen that the Prophet's admirable arrangements were to be carried on. And so from the very first the invading armies had the intoxicating hope of spoils that were larger and richer by just so much as Rome and Persia were richer than Arabia. How that intoxication worked, the annals of the Early Caliphate show most faithfully. Muthanna, when haranguing his troops at the very outset of the Persian campaign, and in the very first flush of religious enthusiasm, says much of plunder, captives, concubines, forfeit lands, but not one word about Islam, God, or the Faith. The very first victory over a Persian army revealed to the transported Moslems a booty animate and inanimate, the like of which they had never even dreamed of before. The fifth was sent to Medina, where, like the spies'

grape-cluster, it gave tangible proof of what was to be enjoyed at the front, with, however, a very much more stimulating effect. And as the armies pushed on, and the decisive battles with Persia were fought, and the capital Medain was taken, the armies beheld riches and luxuries and delights that their most sensuous dreams had never imagined before. These things acted as new wine to the Arabs. God was indeed with them! Every Arab in the peninsula became a heart and soul believer in the Prophet's doctrine of the Jihâd—the duty of fighting in the Path of God,—and an enthusiastic adherent of the Caliph's home-and-foreign political theory, which was that the Arabs should be the fighting men of Islam, holding no land in the conquered countries, but, instead, state-maintained by the spoils of new conquests, and the tribute of the countries whose subjugation was complete. And thus Arabia was converted into one huge depot for breeding and training soldiers; for the unlimited supply of female slaves swelling the enormous harems of these Moslem lords led to such increments of population that the prodigious wastage of life in the

campaigns was easily met and more than met. And an apparently unending flood of soldier-Arabs rolled in, wave after wave, from the breeding-ground and training-camp of the peninsula, to share in the treasures of the conquered countries, and to find new homes (never a difficult thing nor a hardship to the true Arab) in lands unimaginably richer than his own. Truly he served not God for nought; nor, to do him justice, did he ever pretend that he did so.

Four typical exclamations by certain Mohammedan soldiers during the first flush of these religious wars, when motives and impulses were at their best and most characteristic, well sum up for us the secret of Mohammedan success :—

“ By the Great God, if I were not stopped by this raging sea, I would go on to the nations of the West, preaching the Unity of Thy Name, and putting to the sword those that would not submit.” (*The exclamation of Akbar as he urged his horse into the Atlantic surf.*)

“ A people is upon thee loving death as thou lovest life.” (*Khâlid's splendid message to Hormuz the Persian general.*)

“Were it but as a provision for this present life, and no holy war to wage, it were worth our while to fight for these fair fields and banish care and penury for ever ! ”

(The same Khâlid's address to his troops.)

“O Paradise ! How close art thou beneath the arrow's point and the falchion's flash ! O Hâshim ! Even now I see heaven opened and black-eyed maidens all bridally arrayed, clasping thee in their fond embrace ! ” *(A Moslem soldier's exclamation at one of the earliest fights.)*

The conduct of the armies in those “missionary campaigns” was very much according to the custom of their time and country. Smoking homes, plundered villages, slaughter and blood, rape and rapine, were inseparable concomitants to all campaigns, and for the matter of that, save in the case of the enslavement and forced concubinage of female captives, they are still inseparable. In all these things the Moslems were neither better nor worse than their day ; indeed the offer of Islam to the conquered, though from the Christian point of view an iniquitous way of making converts, was humane in its intention and its effect, for it imposed a definite limit to

Dealings with
conquered
Foes.

the work of destruction. Once grant that the soldier of God must strike, and it follows he must strike hard and strike often. Even the feature of the concubinage of captive women, vile and odious though it is to us, seemed to the Moslem to be a necessary and humane way of providing a home for many homeless women. Her captor became responsible for her, and if she bore a son she became *ipso facto* free. These considerations and the fact that by this method the numbers of the faithful were at the same time increased, probably prevented a single Moslem soldier, however pious, from having one single conscientious scruple in the matter. Yet for all that it was a demoralising business. Even Moslem public opinion stirred uneasily at the practice of Khâlid, their bravest general and an irreproachable Moslem,¹ in actually wedding a captive woman, perhaps the wife of a foeman slain that day—aye or *not* slain, but still alive—on the stricken field itself. But then, had not their prophet done the very same? What of Rihâna, the beautiful Jewess, taken to Mohammed's tent on the very night of the slaughter,

¹ See Muir's "Caliphate," Chap. V.

she with face yet wet for a husband massacred in cold blood, he with soul newly stained by the blood of that husband? No wonder that Abu Bakr's feeble remonstrance with Khâlid failed to stop him from doing the very same thing on every day of victory, and it is characteristic of the strangely mixed character of Mohammedan ethics, even at their best, that it has probably never suggested itself to a single Moslem down to the present hour to doubt for such reasons the acceptability of Khâlid's person and religion before God.

It is no cause for wonder that Islam, and the methods of the spread of Islam, have excited such opposite feelings in critics. Viewed simply from the historico-sociological standpoint, the character and acts of Mohammed and his successors often receive, and naturally receive, a relative commendation. In the mediæval period of the Christian evangelisation of Europe, missionary methods, though often spiritual and apostolic, sometimes appear parallel to most of the Moslem methods which we are now studying. Yet when we place them side by side with the acts and methods of our Lord and His followers;

Methods of
Christianity

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when we recall the picture of Paul, the chaste, the brave, that Crusader with the Cross on heart and life; . . . John, the apostle of Love, with his 'little children'; . . . the glorious fellowship of Apostles, the goodly company of Prophets, the noble army of Martyrs, chaste and brave youths, Christ-ennobled and Christ-beautified maidens, old saints and child saints, going to their doom, to their triumph and the triumph of the Faith, with smile on face, and hymn on lips: when we recall these, and thousands like them, right down to our own day, and see all down the ages, the blood of saints poured forth—their own blood, not the blood of others shed by them,—so bringing in the Kingdom of God and of Christ and of the Spirit. . . . Enough! Do we perhaps, in the anguish of this comparison, gain some glimpse of what Christ¹ saw when He travailed in temptation on that lonely mountain peak, choosing between the ways by which the kingdoms of this world might be gained for God?

(3) Civil.

(3) This *political* side of the question has been dwelt on at some length because of

¹ St Matt. iv.

its great importance in principle. Closely related to it is another aspect, which is an essential element of the answer to the question, "Why did Islam triumph?" it may be called the *civil* aspect: the quiet yet tremendous pressure Islam brought to bear after the settlement of a country by the mere fact of its being a settled social system. We may put from our minds once and for all the idea that, after the first bloody work was done,—“opening the countries” they call it in the East,—the sword was used to bring about forced conversions. Neither the law nor the practice of Islam sanctioned such a thing:—when it has occurred, it has been the work of fanatics, and must be considered exceptional. The Moslems after the conquest relied on the impression already made, and on the general pressure exerted by the whole system they immediately set up. For between the method of actual threats and the method of spiritual conversion there are a multitude of stages. In a multitude of ways a shrewd pressure may be brought to bear on the unbeliever. Whether conversions thus effected should be called “forcible” depends on how one

interprets the word. A man may, apparently freely, yield—because it is so very clearly to his advantage to do so.

**Tribute levied
on Jews and
Christians.**

The institutions of the Moslems were characterised by a very large measure of good sense and humanity, and justice was frequently well administered. Jews and Christians who refused to become Moslems paid tribute, and received in return the protection of the Islamic state. So popular was this arrangement that Christian subjects of Islam were in those days not infrequently the objects of envy, and Moslem rulers frequently received appeals from Christians pleading to be transferred from Christian rule to that of Islam! And although the diminution of the number of Christian and Jewish tributaries by conversion involved a financial loss to the state, more than one Moslem ruler showed a genuine religious earnestness by refusing to prefer a fat revenue to the salvation of souls.

Considerable administrative ability, too, was shown by many Moslem rulers, especially at first. Again, the Arab, being a man of great attainments and culture on his own lines, and proving extraoridin-

arily teachable and receptive in mundane matters, welcomed the teaching which Greek and Persian could so freely give him in philosophy, letters, arts, and crafts; and the indubitably brilliant¹ civilisation he thus created, especially at Baghdad, Cairo, and Cordova, at a time when Christian Europe was in a state of blank ignorance and darkness, was an extra inducement to the unbeliever to become even as the Moslem was.

Baser Methods
of Conversion.

On the other hand, there were many ways in which a sterner and less excusable pressure was brought to bear in addition to the eternal bribe of the tremendous social and political advantages offered by submission to Islam. The fierce contempt felt and shown by the Moslems; the treatment of Christians as utter inferiors; the vexatious and humiliating conditions often imposed on them, increasing more and more as time went on;² the laxity and the carnal character of its marriage and divorce systems, and its divine sanction of concubinage, these are considerations that have

¹ Cf. "Religion of the Crescent," St Clair Tisdall, with Muir's "Caliphate," p. 504, and Arnold's "Spread of Islam," pp. 120, 200-206.

² See Muir's "Caliphate," p. 147.

undoubtedly, from those times down to the present day, influenced the majority of men to accept Islam, carried away by a social current the force of which it was almost impossible to resist. The mass of the populations of Persia, Asia Minor, Syria, Egypt, North Africa, and Spain, undoubtedly in this way slipped over the line, quietly, gradually, and in the mass. The same phenomena may be seen to this day. Islam has always known how to make it easy for the average sensual man to be "converted," knowing that his children are sure to be as proud and bigoted Moslems as the heart could wish. The most illuminating remark the writer has ever had made to him during nine years in the East, was in a conversation between himself and a Moslem Cabinet-minister in Cairo. The latter expressed and urged his conviction that *all* "converts" were hypocrites, and were induced to change their religion by material motives only:—really to change one's religion was impossible. Utterly astonished, the writer reminded him of Christian St Paul, Moslem Abu Bakr. . . . The minister was not to be moved. . . . "No," he said, "converts are not, as you

say, the *sincerest* religionists, though they may be the most *useful*. *It is the children of these men who are sincere.*" A whole volume of commentary on the Moslem advance in the past, of Moslem advance in Africa to-day, is packed into that last sentence.

And then again, even more drastic methods were certainly often used. A religion which punished apostasy with death, and never allowed proselytising on the part of the other side, could hardly be called "free." Bokhara struggled desperately against the new faith; and every Bokharî was compelled to share his dwelling with a Moslem Arab, and those who prayed and fasted like good Moslems were rewarded with money! Nor was this sort of thing condemned as illegitimate; nor was it as a matter of fact unique.

(4) Besides the benefits which the Mos- (4) Social.
lems derived from their skilful use of these political and civil weapons in propagating Islam, there was a potent *social* weapon.

The practice of polygamy and concubinage, so freely practised by the ruling race, in itself led to a great transference of the balance of creeds. It mattered

little whether those mothers Islamised or remained Christians, their children were inevitably Moslems.

This readiness on the part of the Moslem to intermarry with whatsoever race he conquered or dwelt amongst was, as it still is, the most potent means of making that race Islamise. And, *per contra*, history has shown us, that where a ruling race will not intermarry with its subjects, be its prestige what it may, the fact of its being the ruler will *alienate* its subjects from its faith, not attract them to it.

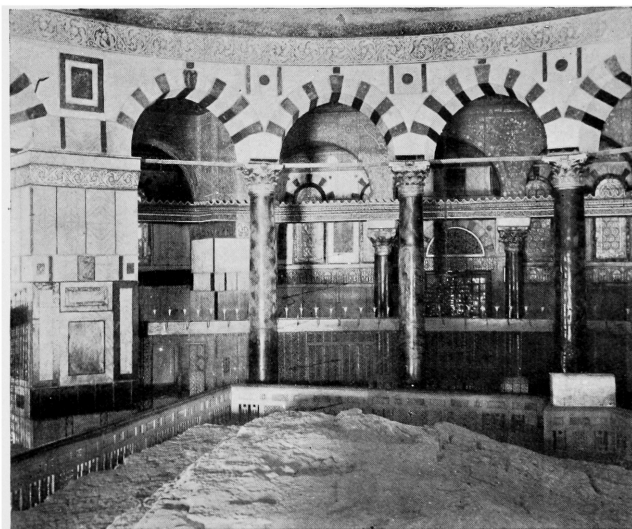
(5) Survival of
the Fittest in
Religion.

All this is true. And yet we cannot shirk a last consideration, in which the blame turns home upon ourselves. The Survival of the Fittest is a principle that has a more than merely biological bearing. And in God's mysterious counsels it would seem that religious privilege, however sacred, is not exempt from its working. Islam survived because Persian and Byzantine rule was unfit, and because the salt of the latter's Christianity had lost its savour.

It was not animated by the Spirit of Jesus. Religious interest was frittered away in interminable wranglings about ever more and more infinitesimal points of



MOSQUE OF OMAR, JERUSALEM



MOSQUE OF OMAR, JERUSALEM

Showing the Stone on which Mohammedans say Abraham offered Ishmael

metaphysical theology, whilst real faith waxed cold and love languished amongst clergy, rulers, and laity alike. The love of Christian for Christian had been replaced by a burning hatred of sect for sect, so that when the Moslem appeared the one would openly exult when the other was smitten, or would even co-operate with the invader (as in Egypt) in fulfilling his victorious will !

Has the Church learned the lesson ? She failed in the seventh century ; is she going to retrieve the failure in the twentieth ? Will she definitively realise that the SPIRIT OF JESUS is her only asset, and in Him become irresistible, or is the waiting and watching world to

“ record one lost soul more,
One task more declined, one more footpath untrod,
One more devil's triumph and sorrow for angels,
One wrong more to man, one more insult to God ” ?

II

The second great period of expansion may be called the *Turkish* period, as the first was the *Arab*. It began when, in the eleventh century, or the fifth after the

II. Turkish
and Mongol
Movements,
1050-1480.

Higra, the Turks from Central Asia took the sovereignty of the Moslem world from the Abbaside Caliphs of Baghdad (Arabs by descent); and Islam spread northwards towards Russia and Siberia, westwards through Asia Minor to Constantinople and the Danube, and eastwards to China and India and the East Indies, as a direct or indirect consequence of that event.

Caliph's
Turkish
Bodyguard.

During the Arab period the seat of the Caliphate had been in turn Medina, Damascus, Baghdad. The growing weakness of the Abbaside Caliphate at Baghdad led to its taking a step of great moment and significance. It formed a bodyguard of *Turks* from the marches of Turkestan, where the outposts of Islam were. These men, who had no religion of their own, adopted their masters' religion like an army-order,¹ and became Moslems of a stiff, unreasoning order. Meanwhile the Islamising of Turkestan was going on, from Bokhara as a centre; and thus it happened that when in the eleventh century a tribe of Turks, called Seljook, which had accepted Islam, came South, crossing Transoxiana and Khorasan, it found men of its own race,

¹ Vambéry.

language, and religion, ruling the Rulers of Islam. The time had therefore now come for a transference of the leadership of Islam from the Arab race to the Turanian. The former was now effete—even its own almost unlimited vitality had been bled white by the extraordinary calls made upon it. But the Turks were a young and vigorous people. The Turkish “Sultans” (for so the monarchs were called who ruled in practical independence of the Caliph) became from 1050 the *de facto* rulers of the Moslem kingdoms, from Egypt to Turkestan. And so the second period of expansion began.

Westwards the Turkish Moslems completed the Islamising of Asia Minor. It was they who, under the Circassian Saladin (Salâh ed Din) fought the Christians in the crusades, and spread the fame of the “Saracens” or “Paynims” throughout Europe. Then, as the Seljook Sultans also weakened, like the Arab Caliphs before them, another tribe or family of Turks, the Ottomans, gave fresh life to Islam; they organised and led the wars in which the Crescent was carried over into south-S.E. Europe. Thrace, Bulgaria, Wallachia,

Servia were rapidly and thoroughly conquered. Greece became a Turkish province; and finally the Eastern Roman Empire—by that time miserably shrunk to the territory immediately round its capital—was extinguished, when, in 1453, Constantinople fell with a crash that shook Europe. Once again it seemed as if the Crescent was to conquer Europe altogether. But the armies of the Turk were rolled back from Vienna in the seventeenth century, and the limit of Islam in Europe was settled. The Greek war of independence began the backward wash which continued all through the nineteenth century; the Treaty of Berlin declared the independence of the Balkan States; and to-day we have been watching the yet further curtailment of Turkish power in Europe.

Afghanistan,
Baluchistan,
India.

Eastwards, other Turks, just before the Seljook period, had been active. From Bokhara as a centre Afghanistan and Baluchistan had been Islamised, and now the famous or notorious Sultan, Mahmûd of Ghazni, invaded India with a ferocious host. The connection of Islam with India has been as violent and bloody as its connection with China has been quiet and

peaceable. Before the eleventh century, violent and destructive expeditions had taken place and forced conversions had been made. Mahmûd's expedition (1019 A.D.) was one of naked conquest, murder, and robbery. After two centuries, when Delhi became the Moslem capital (1206), a second Sultanate was formed in Bengal and Behar by Bakhtiyar Khan (1206-1288). The later invasion of Timur (Timerlane) with his Mongols (Moguls) was unspeakably cruel and bloody. Then was founded the brilliant Mogul empire (1525-1707), with the well-known names among others of Akbar and Aurungzeb. To say that Islam's success here also is not primarily owed to the sword is to say what is a lie. Yet even in these extreme cases the initial violence for the most part only gave Islam its *start*—a good one, it must be allowed. After that, the same political, social, and civil influences that we have already mentioned got to work as usual, with the usual results. In Bengal, where there was little violence, there are 25,000,000 Moslems. In South India, where there was none at all, and where legitimate preaching has been the means used, there are 4,200,000. For a long time past

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Islam has progressed in India by its preaching, its social advantages, and its prestige. There are now 63,000,000 Moslems in the Indian Empire,—more than one-fifth of the whole population.

**How Islam won
the Mongols.**

In Chapter I. we gazed with surprise on the spectacle of a generally predominant Islam from Persia to Siberia northwards, forming a great wedge with its apex about Tobolsk in Russian Siberia. This fact is connected with a series of events in which Islam is seen perhaps at its very highest advantage, and its victory appears to be most legitimate. These events were, the appalling deluge of Mongol barbarism overwhelming Islam, which in the thirteenth century swept from North Central Asia, under that tremendous personage Jenghiz Khan, over Turco-Arabian Islam; the rising again of Islam from its own ashes; and its leading captivity captive when in the hour of its prostration it actually won over the heathen Mongol conquerors now settled in Persia, in Turkestan, in Eastern and Southern Russia, in Western Siberia.

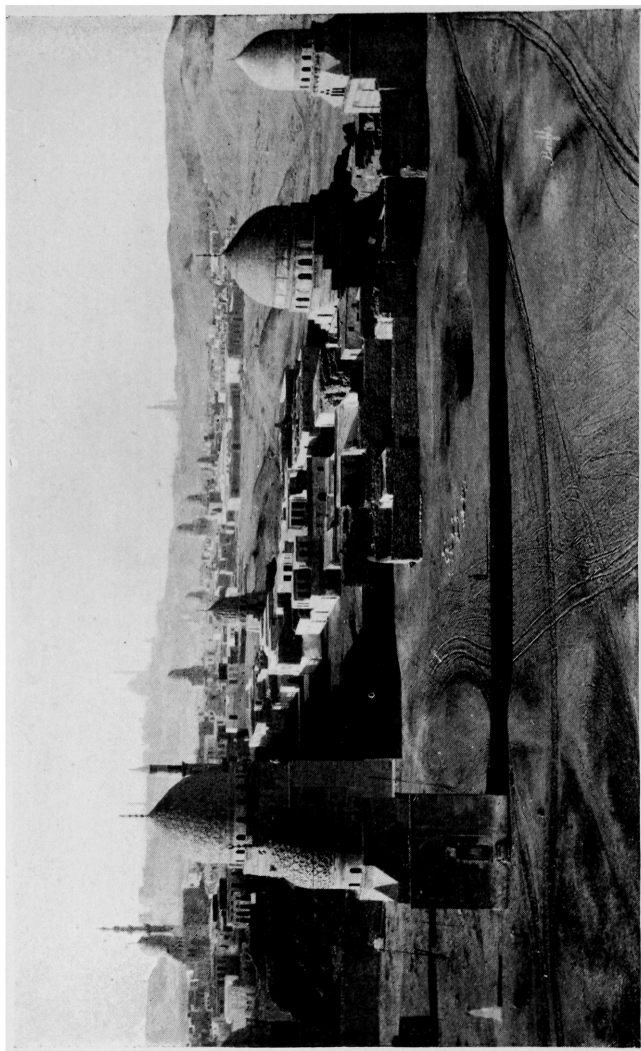
It is worth while to realise what took place. “No event¹ in the history of Islam

¹ Arnold, p. 185.

. . . for terror and desolation can be compared to the Mongol conquest. Like an avalanche, the hosts of Jenghiz Khan swept over the centres of Moslem culture and civilisation, leaving behind them bare deserts and shapeless ruins where before had stood the palaces of stately cities, girt about with gardens and fruitful corn-land. When the Mongol army had marched out of the city of Herat, a miserable remnant of forty persons crept out of their hiding-places, and gazed horror-stricken on the ruins of their beautiful city,—all that was left out of a population of over one hundred thousand. In Bokhara, so famed for its men of piety and learning, the Mongols stabled their horses in the sacred precincts of the mosques, and tore up the Korâns to serve as litter; those of the inhabitants who were not butchered were carried away into captivity, and their city reduced to ashes. Such, too, was the fate of Samarkand, Balkh, and many another city of Central Asia . . . such, too, the fate of Baghdad. . . .” Here we have the reverse of what we have seen up to now; we have Islam in its hour of utter weakness, nay, well-nigh of annihilation, com-

mending itself to a barbarous bloodthirsty nation, and winning its own conquerors. There is scanty record of how these Mongol hordes were won to the Moslem faith, but in the main it was through the devotion of its followers. The method usually was to begin from the top ;—a Khan or Chief would be converted, and his people would as a rule follow suit as a matter of course. We are here reminded of the conversion of the Saxons of Kent.

So the Mongols were won. Nor are elements of shame wanting here also to us Christians, for Nestorian Christianity was found right across Central Asia as far as the north of China ; Christians had, moreover, at first enjoyed privilege, prestige, and favour with the Mongol Khans, while Islam was looked on with suspicion and severely persecuted. From every point of view, then, Christianity had the best chance of winning the Mongols and all Central Asia,—and lost it. Islam, Buddhism, and Christianity were the rivals in the contest for Central Asia. Buddhism held Tibet, and Islam won the rest. And had not Russia set up the bulwark of the Greek Church in Northern Central Asia and



TOMBS OF THE CALIPHS, CAIRO

Siberia, the whole of the Continent round Siberia.
to China would probably have fallen to Islam. In Turkestan and Russian Asia, none can say that the sword played the sole part in conversion, though Russian historians draw a picture of two centuries of Moslem misrule. We hear of one *prisoner-of-war*, who by his *preaching* "converted thousands." Here, too, a king or chief would be converted, and his subjects would follow his example.

In China, the Mongol upheaval had im- China.
portant bearing on the future of Islam in that country. An enormous and varied immigration of Moslem traders, artisans, soldiers, and colonists took place, following on Jenghiz Khan's and Kubla Khan's Chinese conquests. *These Moslems inter-married with Chinese women.* And since then they have been careful to attract as little attention as possible; they abandon all distinction of dress and language; they adopt "countless" children orphaned at times by famine or other disaster. Thus their numbers have reached some twenty millions. Their very unobtrusiveness is their chief strength. And although their zeal and ability in the matter of proselytism

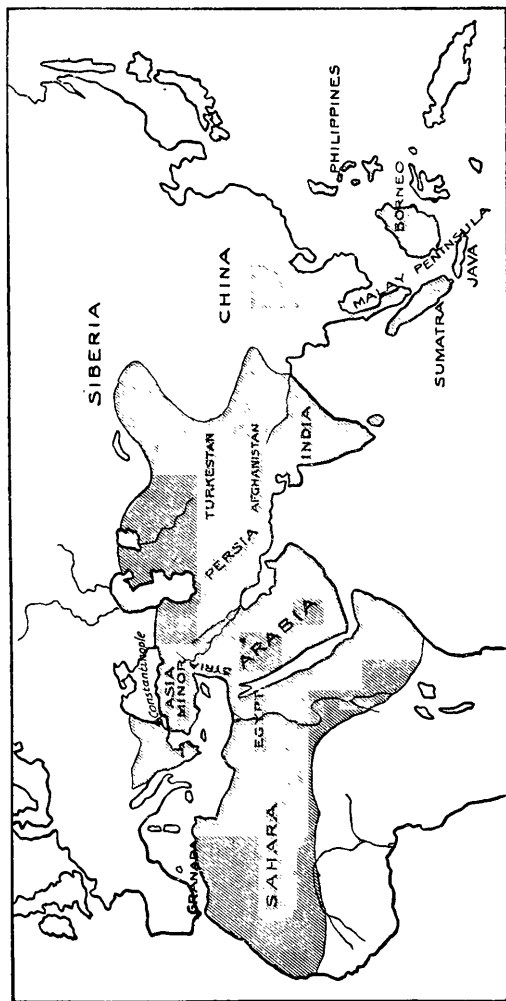
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are open to some doubt, yet they constitute a problem and a possible danger that cannot for a moment be ignored.¹

East Indies.

The history of the spread of Islam in the East Indies is another instance where it has taken place in the main peaceably, by preaching or under the influence of its *social prestige*. The whole or part conversion of Sumatra, Java, the Moluccas, the Spice Islands, Celebes, and Borneo began in 1507, and has been continued on to our own day ; so that it properly falls outside our Second Period. Force has sometimes been called in as an auxiliary, but far the greatest proportion of the work has been done by merchants and Malay pilgrims who have returned from Mecca. The following account is admittedly typical : “The better to introduce their religion, these Mohammedan traders adopted the language of the people and many of their customs ; *married their women, purchased slaves so as to increase their personal importance*, and succeeded finally in being reckoned among the foremost chiefs in the

¹ The writer is indebted to Mr H. F. Ridley of the C.I.M. for a careful and authoritative criticism of the statements of Walshe and Arnold, both as to the numbers of Islam in China, and its proselytising ideals and powers.



(2) Extent of Islam, A.D. 1480.

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state." Christianity has only its own unfaithfulness and miserable want of zeal to thank for these things. The King of Celebes, for example, desired to choose between the two religions, after instruction in each. The missionaries from Mecca, however, arrived sooner than the Jesuits from Portugal, and that king and his people became Mohammedan.

On reviewing this second period, then, we see again that many causes account for the success and spread of Islam;—successful conquests, followed by the setting up of a political, civil, and social system which set a very strong current in favour of Islam. In China the most important apparent cause was the intermarriage of numerous settlers with Chinese women. In the East Indies it was also intermarriage and the social prestige of the Moslem merchants. But in all these cases, and especially in the case of the conversion of the Mongols, the element of sheer enthusiasm for Islam must not be forgotten for a moment.

III

Africa.

We turn lastly to Africa, where the third period of the Moslem missionary movement

is chiefly exemplified. The conquest of Northern Africa in the *first period* has already been mentioned. From the coast Islam gradually advanced into the interior during the *second period*. The conquest of the Sahara presents the old familiar features, especially the argument of hard knocks:—"The success that attended his (Abdallah ibu Yasin's, a pious Moslem monk's) warlike expeditions appeared to the tribes of the Sahara a more persuasive argument than all his preaching, and they very soon came forward voluntarily to embrace a faith that had secured such brilliant successes to the arms of its adherents."¹

From the Sahara, still southwards, Islam spread towards the Niger and the Western Sudan, making very many converts from among the negroes. Little is known about the history or methods of these first conquests (eleventh and twelfth centuries). From the West, Islam then spread eastward and met another stream of propagandism setting from Arabia and Egypt. Thus the Sudanese states from the borders of Abyssinia to Timbuktu and Senegal be-

¹ Arnold, "Preaching of Islam," p. 261.

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came all of them Moslem. It would seem that the great and important nation of the Hausas accepted Islam at this time.

Modern Movement in Africa
(1750 to present time).

And this brings us to the *third* or modern epoch,—a period of about a century and a half. A great deal of it can be traced to the movement in Arabia in the eighteenth century started by Abdul Wahhâb. Influenced by his doctrine, a certain Sheikh, Othman, son of Hodiou, returned from the pilgrimage at Mecca, and proceeded to start a movement for the reform of doctrine, ritual, and morality among his people, the Fulahs, a great and important pastoral tribe, living in settlements all over the Sudan. But his pietism, like his Prophet's, had no scruple against handling a sharp sword. The Fulahs, under his leadership, became one of the most terrible fighting forces in the history of Islam. Othman sent letters to all the tribes around threatening chastisement if they did not submit to Islam. Nor was the threat idle. "The conquering Fulahs spread southwards and westwards, laying waste whole tracts of country, and compelling all the tribes they conquered to embrace the faith of the Prophet."¹

¹ Arnold.

Amongst others, the great negro nation of the Hausas—already Moslem—willingly submitted to their rule, and Sokoto was built, and made the capital of a great Moslem empire in Western Equatorial Africa, which has only recently been overthrown by the British power. The Yomba country on the Niger was reached. Only a broad fringe along the whole Guinea Coast remained pagan, and for that fringe Christian missions, with the odds all against them, are contesting with the dead-weight of Islam, pressing in everywhere from the north. Here again we find the old story; the prestige of conquest first, intermarriage second, an unexacting creed and a morality which may be as low as possible without being in the least un-moslem,—to these attractions the Africans fall victim by tens of thousands,—while Christians who are unable to tolerate the high standard of a spiritual religion and the pure Mastership of Jesus Christ, when they fall away, fall into the arms of Islam. At the Pan-Anglican Congress¹ it was made terribly clear at what odds the Church is fighting in West Africa; with what difficulty the simple, tempted negro Christians

¹ London, 1908.

Spiritual
Methods.
The Sennussi
order of
monks.

so much as hold their own in face of the cruelly subtle temptation of Islam.

It must not be forgotten, however, that an immense amount of proselytising work has been done over these vast districts of Africa by perfectly peaceful means, preaching, schools, and the like. Take for example the extraordinarily powerful order of the Senussi¹—an order that is spread over all North Africa. From their schools and monasteries go forth missionaries, and by real missionary effort they convert heathens, and reform professing Moslems. How long this peaceful Islamic theocracy will refrain from becoming an aggressive and warlike one is another matter.

Unspiritual
methods.

On the other hand, there is a reverse side to this picture. The basest and most unspiritual methods have been used, and are being used, to convert negroes to Islam. What of the negroes forced to Islamise at the sword's point, conformably with the spirit and letter of the Koran? What of the thousands of negroes dragged by Zebehr Pasha and other Arab slave-raiders from the interior of the Sudan, and placed in an environment where their Islamising

¹ See Appendix F. to Chap. IV.



MOSLEMS FROM BALUCHISTAN



MOSLEMS FROM CENTRAL AFRICA

was practically inevitable? What of the abominable slave-raids still going on, and dignified by the name of Jehâd—"Holy" war, God save the mark! And if it be held that such victims of Islam cannot be conceived as being in earnest about religion at all, and so should be ignored in this enquiry, we must remember the dictum of that Egyptian Cabinet-minister: "*No, but their children are sincere.*"

We have hitherto been considering Africa north of the Equator. We must close this chapter by a consideration of Islam south of the line. As on the Guinea Coast, so in the whole of Africa down to the Zambesi, it is a race between Christianity and Islam for possession. The odds are great, and the penalty for losing terrible, for when Islam once takes hold, it becomes, for reasons that will be dwelt on later, almost impossible, humanly speaking, to dislodge it.

It is astonishing how Islam thrives by villainous methods as easily as by righteous. For example, incredible though it may seem, the unspeakably brutal, cruel, and dastardly Arab slave-trade is the direct

cause of the rapid progress made by Islam in East Africa of late. Crushed and degraded natures often admire the very strength of their tormentors, and the Moslems undoubtedly acquired immense prestige, if not love, all through the slave-raiding districts in the old slave-raiding days of last century. "Ah, those Mahdists were something like men!" recently said some poor Nilotic Sudanese to the missionaries. Now these same Mahdists had done nothing for those Sudanese but murder and spoil them. The missionaries—nay the English themselves—seemed to them poor creatures. They did not even beat them!

It was in *those* days that the Christian Church had its *best* chance, such a chance as—alas! is not presented to-day, and never will be again. The mission-fields of Uganda (C.M.S.), Barotsiland (French), and Nyassaland (Universities' and Presbyterian missions, including Livingstonia) have indeed shown what might be done in the way of stemming and counteracting the onward march of Islam, but the fact still remains that the brightest hour for saving Africa from Islam was allowed to go by. The new condition that

has given Islam its chance is the righteous action, the humane policy, the just governance of Christian nations, which in most parts have stopped slave-raiding and slave-trading, and turned the Moslem slave-raider into "honest trader," who, in the ring-fence created for him by Christian officials, itinerates, intermarries, and uses his old prestige to influence the negroes for Islam. African memories are short, old wounds heal rapidly, and the scars are disregarded. And so Africa, north of the Zambesi, shows every sign of becoming a Moslem ocean, with here and there a large Christian island in its midst.

In Africa is exemplified a further point. The Moslem evangelist may be good, bad, or indifferent; a warlike saint, a reforming enthusiast, a noble monarch, an easy-going merchant, a scoundrel of an ex-slave-raider; but—how comes it that every Moslem is proud of Islam, loves Islam in his own fashion, and therefore *stands for* Islam wherever he goes: and so is a Moslem missionary?

"To the modern Christian world,¹ missions imply organisations, societies, paid

¹ Zwemer's "Islam," p. 79.

agents, subscriptions, reports. All this is practically absent from the present Moslem idea of propagation, and yet the spread of Islam goes on. With loss of political power, the zeal of Islam seems to increase, for Egypt and India are more active in propagating the faith than are Turkey or Morocco.

“In Burma (where Indian merchants are the Moslem missionaries) the Moslem population increased thirty-three per cent. in the past decade.” In the Western Sudan and the Niger, where whole districts have become Moslem, to a large extent the work has been done by merchants, travellers, and artisans. “A pearl merchant at Bahrein, East Arabia, recently, at his own expense and on his own initiative, printed an entire edition of a Korân commentary for free distribution. On the streets of Lahore and Calcutta you may see clerks, traders, bookbinders, and even coolies, who spend part of their leisure time preaching Islam, or attacking Christianity by argument. The merchants, who go to Mecca as pilgrims from Java, return to do missionary work among the hill-tribes. In the Sudan the Hausa merchants carry

the Korân and the catechism wherever they carry their merchandise. No sooner do they open a wayside shop in some pagan district than the wayside mosque is built by its side."

Moreover, and finally—Moslem prestige would be as unavailing to effect conversions as English prestige has been in India or Egypt, if it were not known that every man may share this prestige by making the Moslem confession, and becoming—outwardly at least—a Mohammedan. Every woman may in a sense share that prestige by becoming the wife or concubine of the Moslem great man, and by bearing him Moslem children. This may not be a good way of inducing conversion from the side of the "convert," but from the point of view of Islam, does it not point to a real brotherhood, a real readiness to admit to and share privileges, a real breaking down of race barriers and animosities?—all of which things seem so strangely difficult to the followers of Jesus Christ.

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QUESTIONS FOR CHAPTER III

1. Into what three periods may the Moslem conquests be roughly divided? Give dates.
2. Enumerate the countries which became Moslem up to 800 A.D. How do you mainly account for the success of the Moslem arms?
3. How far is Mohammedanism a social system as well as a religion? Illustrate your answer from facts.
4. How did it happen that the Turks became the chief Moslem Power?
5. Give an account of the winning of the Mongols to the Moslem Faith.
6. For what reasons is the Moslem community in India so important? Describe the events which led to the numbers of Moslems in that country.
7. Describe the spread of Islam in Africa from 1750 onwards.
8. In what sense is Africa the great battle-ground between Islam and Christianity? For what reasons does Islam spread more quickly than Christianity in the present day?

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CHAPTER IV

WHAT IS IT ?

NOT until the fourth chapter do we come to the thing, the religion of Mohammed, the *It* itself. We are not engaged in an abstract study of this subject. We have rather approached it as an observer might approach a visible organism which has arrested his attention. First he takes a good look at it from the outside, observing where it is placed, and in what environment, and what it is ostensibly doing. Then, his curiosity being aroused, he asks his friends whence it came, and how it arrived at its present state. And not until then does he give a more penetrating study to the object itself, his knowledge of which, however, has been greatly increased by what his friends have told him as to its origin and history.

Similarly we first made a rough, elementary observation of the great phenomenon of ISLAM ; and although we have

not yet turned to a closer study of its inner character, its doctrine and theory, yet we have found that our knowledge of that, too, has insensibly, but considerably, increased by the mere study of the man who was its source, and the history of its spread up to the present time. We thus begin a deeper study of what Islam is in itself, without losing that touch with life and reality which is so absolutely necessary if our study is to have practical results.

**Mohammed's
belief in Allah.**

We have already seen the external influences which helped to lead the Arabian Prophet to a belief in Allah—the One God. But it was no mere intellectual process, so far as can be made out, by which he passed to this belief. He did not merely come to possess it; it came to possess him. He was filled with a burning conviction that it was real, actual—that Allah was gripping him, and that neither he nor any created thing had any might at all as against Him. Mohammed was not a philosopher; we might say he was not even a theologian; he never troubled to remove crudities from his faith, or give them an explanation—his followers were left that

delicate task—he felt he had *experienced* Allah, a living, absolutely all-powerful and irresistible Being. And this feeling of Allah's reality and personality was so strong that the language and imagery of the Korân in speaking of God often employs startling human metaphors and images as the Old Testament. At the same time no hint was ever given that Mohammed's words were to be interpreted with anything but prosaic literalism, so that a task of endless difficulty was left to the future theologians, that of deciding how, and in what sense, such images and metaphors were to be construed, in what sense Allah "settled Himself on the Throne," or "spoke," or was to be "beheld" by the saved, or "descended into the lowest heaven," or held the Prophet "between two of His fingers." . . . These things enable us to feel the naïveté and the overwhelming convincedness of Mohammed's faith in this irresistible, Omnipotent One. There was little mystical about him; Allah was to him most emphatically "a Force" . . . "a Force not ourselves." The Creator and the creature were utterly distinct; the creature had been brought

into existence by the Divine word **BE**; naked of power he came into existence, and naked of power he abode in existence, for as against the all and only **Powerful One** he had no fraction of power, in things great or in things small. His deeds, his character, his faith or unfaith were determined by irresistible decree, for at any point to deny this would be, at that point, to assert some gap in the power of **Allah**, and so some inefficacy and weakness, which is impossible. And as by the power of the same irresistible decree he joined the ranks of the believers or of the unbelievers, so by its power he was numbered among the saved in the Garden of Delights or the damned in the broiling Fire:—**Allah** is not “to be questioned” for what He does. He is “responsible” to no one; for to conceive of **Him** as having to answer for any of His actions or decrees would be to invest the creature with a certain right or power as against **Him**, and so limit His **Omnipotence**, which is impossible. In short, to set any limit whatsoever to the absolute, the unmitigated omnipotence of **God** was to **Mohammed**, as it is to every **Moslem**, a simple blasphemy.

It is no process of pure thought that leads a man to this sort of faith. What Mohammed experienced belongs only to him who feels that God has *laid on to him* with Will and with Power, that he is apprehended before he apprehends; while he himself neither knows nor asks *why*. He bows in adoration; he acknowledges the grace; he worships. . . . The great Augustine sounds this note in his Confessions; it is the characteristic note of souls who have experienced a violent conversion, who have felt the special, personal, not-accountable, personal incoming, or oncoming of God. Mohammed was of the same family, and in his case there was nothing to mitigate, or qualify, or balance, or soften the stark conviction of God as all-active and all-powerful Force.

This conception of a living, omniscient, irresistible Will and almighty Power, which might almost be said to exhaust the conception of God in the Korân, has left its indelible mark on Islam to this day. The systems of the theologians were extracted from the Korân, helped out by the traditions of the Prophet's conversation, and they show that this conception regulated

This Belief
experimental.

Conception of
Allah deduced
from Korân.

all their thinking; while the efforts of some to get away from it, or modify it, only showed the real impossibility of doing so. The theologians may be said to have fairly got out what was in the Korân on this fundamental point. In their reasonings as to the Nature and Character of Allah—His Essence and Attributes—they deduced Seven (primary) Attributes which are worth examining; that Allah is

- (1) Living,
- (2) Omniscient,
- (3) Omnipotent,
- (4) Irresistible in Will,

and that He

- (5) Hears,
- (6) Sees,
- (7) Speaks.

The last three may strike the reader as either redundant or too largely employing human metaphor. For either "hearing" and "seeing" are mere expressions for omniscience, and "speaking" a mere manifestation of omnipotence, or else they add human metaphors and images to the purely general conceptions of God of the first four. As a matter of fact these three have caused the theologians a vast amount of

trouble. They are generally explained as being incomprehensible!

When we turn to the Ninety-Nine Names deduced from the epithets used of Allah in the Korân, we find a useful commentary on these Seven Attributes, but we do not find anything really new added.

¹“Yet the ideas of gentleness and kindness are certainly not absent from the Korân. Every Mohammedan who says his rosary calls God ‘The Merciful,’ ‘The Compassionate,’ ‘The Forgiver,’ ‘The Clement,’ ‘The Guardian,’ ‘The Loving,’ ‘The Acceptor of Repentance,’ ‘The Pardoner,’ ‘The King,’ ‘The Patient.’ . . . These gentler attributes are mentioned again and again. . . . Mohammed, we are told, was never tired of telling his followers that the love of God for man was more tender than that of a mother bird for its young. Still, although there is the recognition of the loving-kindness of God, it is true to say generally that the predominating thought in the mind of the Mohammedan is that of the power of God. . . . The Mohammedan call to prayer is ‘God is Great.’”

So we find that *the conception of Will-Power* is paramount, supreme. It modifies, and is not modified by, any other conception whatever. Take a crucial example of the highest importance. In what sense, asks a recently published Moham-

Summed up as Will-Power.

¹ Dale's "Contrast between Christianity and Mohammedanism."

medan text-book, is it right to say that Allah has the characteristic Loving—that He *loves*? The answer is that love must be understood as Allah's *favour* bestowed on a favoured individual, and that similarly His Wrath is the negation of that favour. Now, of course, this at once to all intents and purposes identifies Love with Will, for favour is simply Allah's Will in relation to an individual. And what He wills He surely performs by His power. To this day in Cairo—or anywhere else in the Moslem world—you cannot get a Sheikh to advance beyond this conception. The text "God is Love" moves him not at all, so strongly does he feel that to admit anything like an emotional element in the Godhead is to imagine a degree of weakness or helplessness in it. The words "The Merciful, the Compassionate" head nearly every Sûra in the Korân; but the conception never comes near that of an all-pitying Father. It is rather the "mercy" of an autocrat, who spares a few from the general destruction, for motives no more intelligible or intelligent than those for which Caliban spared some of the land-crabs, in Browning's notable poem.¹

¹ Appendix (A), p. 353.

Thus to the Creator is assigned the sole Will and Power, and from the whole creation, including Man, the very least and slightest semblance of independence or spontaneity in thought or action has been taken away. One school of philosopher-theologians, the Mu'tazilites, or Seceders, made an attempt to mitigate this pitiless doctrine; to introduce into Allah's omnipotence the notion of responsibility for the good of His creatures, to guard somewhat of the responsibility of man to find Him and to please Him; in other words to make the whole system in some degree rational. For one generation, helped by royal patronage (Ma'mun and Mu'tasim, the Abbaside Caliphs of Baghdâd), they made a great effort against the dead-weight of Islamic public opinion, with its only too faithful instinct for the true implication of the Korân. The attempt utterly broke down. Like the swimmer against some mighty current they tired and failed, and Caliph, Doctor, and Populace swung back with relief into the old current, and heartily cursed the men who thought that God's concern for His creatures' good might be looked for as the

Efforts to
modify the
Stark Deism
of Islam.
The Sunnis.

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motive for His actions towards them ; and, who asserted that man was responsible to seek for the will of God, and to perform it if he knew it. Such were the doctrines cursed by El Ash'ari and all orthodox Islam with him, before and since !

**The Eternally
True Element
in this Creed.
Power of
believing
Moslems.**

Now a faith in a living God that wills and acts is indeed a vitally necessary thing in religion. And Frederick Denison Maurice well points out how irresistible the Moslems were when possessed with it : indeed how morally right and necessary it was that men in the living heat of this conviction should have put to shame and to flight men in whom this conviction was a thing of name and not of reality. But he shows, too, that this faith is only efficacious and constructive when it is in ebullition. At other times it sinks into a dead fatalism which, instead of goading to action, paralyzes it. It needs the angel to trouble the pool to produce real results : the results are therefore fitful, and the action liable to sink back into listlessness. An example of this is the utter apathy into which Arabia fell, as we have seen, when the fever-fit of conversion had spent itself. Then the sword fell from the inert hand of



SCHOOLBOYS LEARNING THE KORAN



MOSLEM RELIGIOUS GATHERING AT OYO, W. AFRICA

the Arabs and was taken up by the Turks, —now Moslem Turkey has been utterly inert for centuries. Just the same can be said in regard to that frantic ebullition known as the Mogul invasion of India. Again, the Wahhâbite puritan movement in Arabia inspired the central African Fulâni, Othman, with a belief in his God-appointed office as reformer and conqueror. In the passion of that belief he built up the Fulâni Empire. The Moslem realm of Hausaland received the reformers and conquerors . . . yet in one generation the moral impetus of the movement had utterly ceased, and reforming Fulâni and reformed Hausa had sunk back into a more profound apathy than before. The striking instance of the volcanic outbreak of Mahdism in the Egyptian Sudan in 1883, and the veritable prostration of inertia which immediately succeeded it, is fresh in everyone's mind. The failure, too, of Mohammedan moral-reform movements to make their fruit abide is even more striking than the same failure in the case of movements of a warlike civilised character.

As a matter of fact it needs MORE than

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this conception of unconditioned, irresponsible, arbitrary Will-Power to produce on the part of man a steady upward moral effort towards a mark and along a course which his Creator has shown to him ;—has confided to him, not as a slave, “for the slave knoweth not what his Lord doeth,” but as a “friend,” who is capable of feeling sympathy with the end itself, and of being fellow-worker in the working of it out.

**Dignity of
believing
Moslems.**

Another praiseworthy result of Islam, when it is held as a really living faith, is the dignity with which it invests the believer, who, though a slave, has the slave's right of access to his Lord. The calm dignity of a Moslem at prayer is ever a striking, and even a moving sight. And the stately bearing of the robed and turbaned Moslem Sheikh has at all times excited the admiration of beholders. This, too, is a reminder to the Christian to practise, as well as to profess, a faith in a living God. Yet here again, a qualification cannot but be made. How much of Moslem dignity is otherwise accountable, and how much of it is purely external,—a posture inherited from forefathers rather than the reflection of a noble spirit within. Some

modern writers,¹ with all their acknowledged sympathy, are not deceived as to the cringing manners, the sensuality, the childishness, the downright vulgarity that may inwardly characterise yonder statuesque individual, who might, as regards his outward man, stand as a model for a Moses or a David. And what religion has so uniformly tended to produce, and to acquiesce in, tyrants, with their inevitable following of toadies, cringers, and abjects, as this power-worshipping faith?

Christendom indeed cannot possibly dis- God as Love.
pense with this conception of a Living, Knowing, Willing, and Acting God; nay, must relearn that conception whenever it becomes merely formal in her, even if her teacher be Islam. But this is only a part of her Faith. The spirit of Jesus revealed "*God is Love. . . .*" "*Your Father which is in Heaven. . . .*" "*God so loved the world that He gave . . . !*" Over against the blank "God is not to be questioned as to what He does," as to why He

¹ See for example some of Mr Cutcliffe Hyne's sketches in the Captain Kettle stories (true sketches for all their levity); the "heroes" in Mr Pickthall's novels; even one or two characters in Mr Hichen's "Garden of Allah."

called the worlds into being, the Spirit says, "For Thy glory they were and are created."

True, the Christian religion does not claim to have fully solved the problems of the Will of God and the will of man, of universal love and the existence of sin and sorrow; but it has kept both facts in view, and above all it has refused to lose sight of the Love of God: it has been willing to seem inconsistent, to fail partially in its logical construing of Deity rather than utterly to fail in its moral conception of Him; to confess that the human reason finds ultimate insoluble difficulties rather than to abolish the philosophical difficulty of God's Will and man's free-will at the appalling cost of confessing a faith in unrational, unmoral Almightyness.

God as Holiness.¹

We pass to another aspect of the same question. Having already seen how destitute the Moslem Allah is of the Love which the Spirit of God in Christ has revealed to us, we go on to ask if Holiness is to be found in Allah?

The Church of God, from its origin in the Jewish Church, did not climb to the idea of a *Holy* God without difficulty. How

¹ Appendix (B), p. 353.

many traces there are in the Old Testament of the idea that the Holiness of God is not absolutely related to *goodness*; that it might be considered, on the one hand, Jehovah's dislike for ceremonial uncleanness, or on the other hand, Jehovah's infinite transcendence of all mortal things whatsoever, the dazzling glory of a light too bright to be illumining. But as the revelation of God deepened, through patriarch, psalmist, and prophet, it was seen that in His holiness was righteousness, and an intrinsic antagonism to sin; that He was "of purer eyes than to behold evil"; and that therefore He Himself, and in Himself, was good and holy, and that evil had not its source in Him. Thus the revelation in and through Christ found the foundations already laid. The conception of God had been made thoroughly moral; and Jesus Christ endorsed all, crowned all, fulfilled all when He said—" *Holy Father.*"

The Moslem intellect, on the contrary, asserts that God is not to be questioned as to what He does. To the Moslem, moral goodness is a finite affair, and to apply it to Allah is a vain thing to do. He does not even feel the passionate

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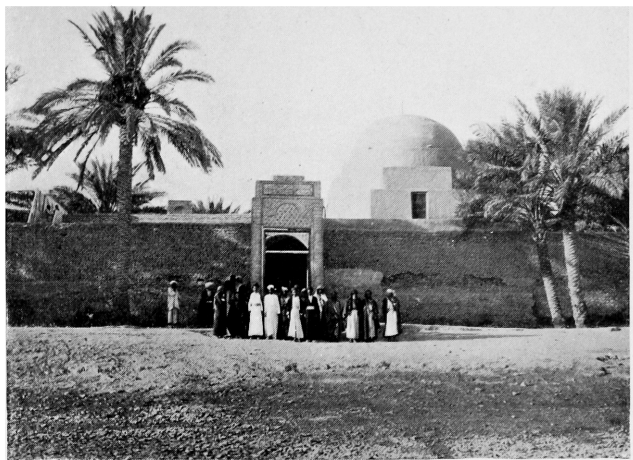
spiritual need of falling back on an unseen, ultimate goodness "believing where we cannot prove." The idea of God as pure *will* is confessedly enough for him. He has no scruples and no soul struggles. The slave asks no question of his Sultan ; what the latter does is right *because he does it*, not for any quality in the action itself. From this it has followed that Mohammed and the theologians after him have laid down with clearness that Allah was the creator and originator of evil ; destined a certain number of people to perform that evil ; and then manifested His displeasure (if the word is not a misnomer in so passionless a Being) by damning them to everlasting torture in Hell. Nothing could be more explicit or emphatic than the Moslem assertion of this naked doctrine. Its logical completeness seems even to silence every moral qualm as to its moral possibility.

Right and
wrong have no
meaning in
themselves.

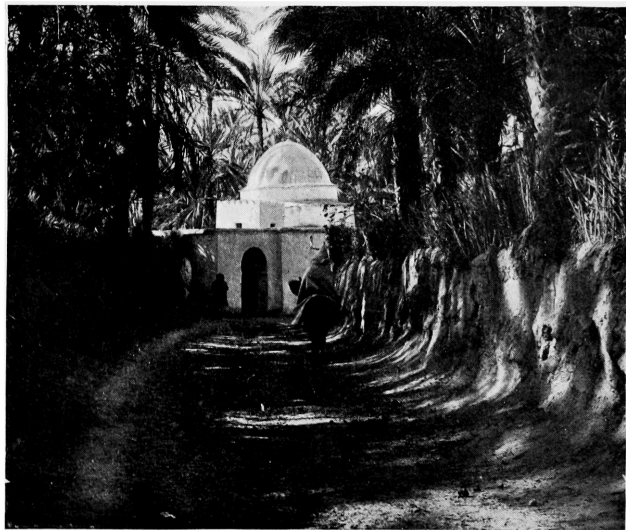
This only shows that Pure Will in itself is not, any more than Pure Force, necessarily moral. It is no more possible to deduce goodness from either separately or both together, than it would be to deduce goodness from the actions of an enormous

engine, endued for the moment with life ("Living"), consciousness ("Knowing"), and self-direction ("Willing"). But it also makes clear an even more startling point: and that is, that Right and Wrong, Good and Evil, are in this light seen to be evacuated of intrinsic meaning. For the distinctions now depend entirely on Allah's decree; but the reasons for that decree are not to be sought; they need not be believed to exist at all, either in the nature of Allah Himself ("Allah is not to be asked concerning that which He does") or in the nature of Right and Wrong in themselves. What then? The decree pronouncing certain things right and certain others wrong is more of the nature of an administrative act: it does not so much create them "right" or "wrong," as "permitted" (*halâl*), or "not-permitted" (*harâm*) (tabooed!); not as odious in themselves, but as infringing the fiat of the Absolute Sultan. Orthodox Moslem theologians have not scrupled plainly to assert that it is only Allah's decree that constituted "good" actions right, and "bad" actions wrong: and that had the decree been the other way round, as it might have been,

the whole of mankind's moral judgments would have had to be reversed. Fortunately for Islam and the world, Allah is assigned, on the whole, a certain consistency in His decrees upon these matters, and the uniformity with which He has tabooed adultery, theft, cruelty, and so forth has conveyed to the ordinary Moslem, no doubt, the sense that these things are necessarily, and in themselves, evil. Men are fortunately not so mad as their logic; and the well-disposed Moslem often has real love for righteousness, and that love may even be the intenser because it is the declared will of Allah. But there is no real understanding of holiness, or of sin in themselves. Allah can legitimatise actions that were formerly illegitimate, for the benefit of His prophet, of all persons! Nor did such actions belong only to the purely ceremonial sphere, where abrogation, it might be allowed, does not touch morals: they often seem to us to fall completely within the ethical sphere. The Moslem might indeed say that in these cases also they were matters of regulation. But that only shows how strong is the tendency to conceive of morality as mere regulation, and



JONAH'S LODGING-PLACE—KAAFAR, ON EUPHRATES
Place of Pilgrimage for Jews and Moslems



A SAINT'S TOMB

to degrade the eternal laws of holiness into decrees which might be changed to-morrow, by the Despot who ordained them.

Thus we see that a heavy price has to be **Atonement.** paid by those who worship unconditioned Might: it appears to involve the disappearance of both Love and Holiness in any real sense of the words. After this it causes no surprise, though it does deepen regret, to find that Islam has no place for *Atonement*. For the necessity, or rather the fact of atonement, sprang from just these things in God—His Love and His Holiness. And man's consciousness of the need of redemption by atonement is only realised when the Spirit of Christ convinces the conscience of sinful man that God *is* holiness and that God *is* Love; that in the Cross is shown against the dark background of man's failure and sin, the measure of the Divine Passion against evil (God's Holiness), the measure of the Divine Passion for redeeming the sinner from it (God's Love). The agnosticism of Islam in regard either to *love* or to *holiness* in Allah made it impossible for Mohammed to find room for Atonement in his conception of Allah, or to realise the need

of it in man. In that inscrutable, passionless life of His, in which He does everything, and no other does anything, the wickedness of man means, in the last analysis, nothing whatever to Him. There is no real failure, no real offence, for evil is His direct and avowed work. . . And it follows absolutely that just as deep hatred of sin, so the very idea of atonement, is absent even from the deepest depths of Moslem thought.

And from the other view-point the agnosticism of Islam with regard to the nature of *love* in Allah makes the idea of Atonement, in which God sacrifices Himself, impossible. That God should *be affected*, suffer, is a thought utterly intolerable to the Moslem. All patience, all passivity is *weakness*, is a temporary abandonment of the Omnipotent activity of Allah, and is therefore even more repugnant an idea to the Moslem than is the notion of the interruption of natural cause and effect to the scientist of to-day. So love itself, and pity, and the desire to save at whatever cost, and passion, and redemptive sacrifice, and every other idea that is comprehended in the thrilling word Atone-

ment, go together in one clean sweep. No champion of the impossibility of a suffering God is half so devoted or so consistent as the Moslem. He explains away a few expressions in the Korân, but not many; on the whole the Korân gives the impression of the Passionless Deity very fairly, for even His favour to Believers and His fiery vengeance on Unbelievers are too inscrutable to seem like real love or real resentment. But the Moslem sees that no amount of explaining will explain away the great texts of both Old and New Testament, where Hebrew Prophet and Christian Apostle, equally under the guidance of the Spirit of JESUS pointed, the one to HIM "Who in all their afflictions was afflicted," the other to Him "Who was in Christ reconciling the World to Himself," and Who "so *loved* the World that He gave . . ." And therefore he indignantly rejects those Books as miserably corrupted,—blasphemies against the Absolute Monarch of Creation.

It is true that the notion of atonement appears in certain rites and ceremonies of a primitive and elementary religious character. Examples are seen in the slaying

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of a sheep in the Feast of Sacrifice, to commemorate Abraham's "redemption" of his son by a ram: certain sacrifices at the pilgrimage; and the prophet's praise of blood-shedding as highly pleasing to God.

Then again the tendency is shown in Persian or Shī'ite¹ Islam to fall back upon the intercession of a suffering mediator, efficacious in proportion to the agony of his suffering. The "merits" of the Shī'ite Man of Sorrows—the pathetic figure of the ill-fated Husain,² that grandson of the Prophet who fell at Kerbela, done unjustly to death—are pled by every Shī'ite Moslem, and may perhaps point to a deep-seated instinct of the human heart. But all these sacrifices are at most paid *by man*. As to the idea at the very base of atonement, the self-sacrifice of God, it is utterly *incompatible* with the whole Islamic conception of Allah. It is further incompatible with the Islamic conception of a Great Prophet. The Korân explicitly denies that Jesus was ever crucified, adopting an old heretical fiction, that someone else,

¹ Appendix F.

² Cf. "Behind the Veil in Persia and Turkish Arabia."
—Seeley, p. 109 ff.

in His likeness, was nailed to the tree. Nothing is more striking, in talking with Moslem sheikhs, than to see the disgust and horror with which they spurn the idea of God's atonement as bitterly dishonouring to Him. It may be Christendom herself has not fully realized the self-sacrifice of *God* in Christ.

To sum up : the creation of man was in no sense the creation of a *free* agent : therefore it was not the creation of a *moral* agent ; therefore it introduced no new element into the world, set up no possibility of moral struggle, or the *cost* that the winning of a moral being, by purely spiritual means, necessarily involves. That Allah as a matter of fact did not will or permit such a thing as divine self-sacrifice is asserted by Islam. Nay, it was impossible for Him to permit such a thing. Islam in its zeal against limiting God actually ends by limiting Him.¹ It knows not the moral "*could not*"; it repeats Peter's "*Thou shalt not wash my feet.*" It confuses physical and moral power. It cannot stoop with the God-Man to the Cradle of Bethlehem ;

¹ Readers of Robert Browning will remember how this idea is developed, especially in his "Saul."

it cannot stand with Him on the Mount of Temptation making the great decision between the strength of God and the strength of this world ; it cannot bow with Him in Gethsemane ; it cannot see that in the Cross He was lifted up, and that the Reign upon the Throne above is the more glorious because it keeps the mark of the Reign on the Cross-throne below. So Incarnation and Atonement are alike impossible to its thought :¹ it preserves, indeed, Allah with His unity, His majesty, and Power, but at the ruinous cost of depriving Him of Love and Holiness.

Relation
between God
and Man :—The
agnosticism of
Islam.

In spite of the belief that God hears, sees, and speaks, Moslem theology after Moham-med more and more took refuge in the doctrine of *Mukhâlâfah*, or the total and absolute difference between the Creator and the creature from any and every point of view. If this chapter were a philosophical or theological treatise it would be most instructive to develop this point and to show the profound agnosticism which this doctrine of Difference really embodies :

¹ The Korân explicitly denies the Sonship or the Divinity of Christ ; and not only the doctrine of His Atonement, but even the fact of His Death.

and how it almost appears to reduce Allah to a negative term, according to the strange rhyme current in Egypt which may thus be rendered :

“ Whatever idea your mind comes at,
I tell you flat
God is NOT that.”

The impossibility of likeness to, or union with God, accounts for the extraordinary formality and unspirituality of most Moslems' religion. In a deep sense their prayer is TO AN UNKNOWN GOD. On earth His name is ever on their lips, yet in Paradise itself, it is not He who is the object of their hearts' delight.

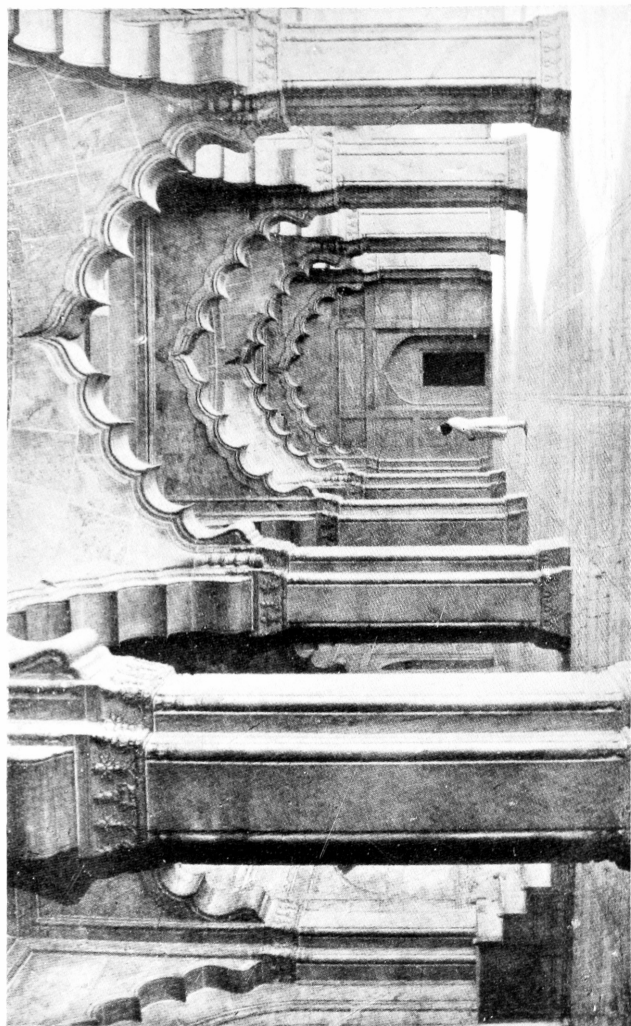
This slenderness of relation between God and man, morally speaking, comes out also in the teaching of Islam, with regard to the Last Things. There is indeed little in the representations of Paradise given in the Korân, and expanded by the commentators, to uplift the soul. It is first and foremost a garden of delights of either a gaudy or a sensual nature. It is true that in one or two places the vision of God is set down as the greatest joy of all, and the most spiritual of the Moslem doctors have not failed to seize that point,

The eschatology of Islam.

and to attempt to spiritualise the gross imagery employed. But these attempts have been a failure. Orthodoxy cannot go far in this direction, and it cannot be too carefully remembered that though Mohammedanism has its sects and off-shoots,¹ "*orthodox*" Islam is to all intents and purposes identical with Islam itself. The huge mass of Moslems always have taken, and always will take, the description of Paradise in the Korân as literal.

It need hardly be said that there is simply no comparison between this imagery (if indeed it is, or was ever intended to be mere imagery), and that of the book of Revelation. The latter is clean, beautiful, and simple : the spiritual antitype of every image is clearly indicated at every turn. It immediately kindles *spiritual* emotions. But the curse of the Korânic imagery is that its most direct and significant appeal *is* carnal, and that it stimulates that which in the Oriental stands in least need of being stimulated. A unique chance to uplift, to spiritualise was lost. On the contrary, it was turned into a unique means of standardising the low level at which

¹ See Appendix F.



AT PRAYER. INTERIOR OF MOSQUE, INDIA

ordinary fallen human nature is all too content to live.

The imagery of Hell, Jehannam, is similarly material, and its elaborate and revolting details are intended to be interpreted in a strictly material sense.

All the descriptions of both Heaven and Hell, the Intermediate State, Resurrection, and Judgment are, then, thoroughly and frankly materialistic. They are also curiously circumstantial; details, into which it is totally unnecessary to enter here, being multiplied to an extent which really robs the subject of its awe—even of its dignity. It is fair to say that for a great many of all these defects the Korân itself is less responsible than the Traditions. But it was the Korân that set the tone in a way that was all too unmistakable; and the true Traditions more than confirmed that which the Korân suggested.

How shall Allah, so remote or rather so totally and essentially “different” from man, nevertheless reach man? What link can He forge?

The Epistle to the Colossians shows how in St Paul’s day the question was answered

Relation
between God
and man.

Supernatural
Beings =
Angels, Jinns,
etc.

by some who believed in an infinite descending series of grades of spiritual beings thus connecting at last God and Man. And Mohammedanism may be said to have gone a little way in that direction by the importance it has attached to the doctrine of an angelic hierarchy, the chamberlains of the Heavenly Monarch; and by its explicit belief in regularly organised hosts of jinns—demi-supernatural beings of uncertain spiritual temper and spiritual location. Belief in these beings is obligatory, for they appear prominently in the Korân; and charms for the evasion of the more malign influences of the mediate spiritual world are also mentioned in its pages and are therefore *de fide*.

That the Moslem mind *has* rested, and does rest, on its journey to God, and has often given its real allegiance to the creature rather than the Creator, is plain from the immense development to which tradition and popular superstition have treated this intermediate spiritual kingdom. There is often found in even orthodox Islam a system of what is practically saint-worship. The spirits of great saints are vaguely supposed to linger about their tombs;

their intercession is continually claimed with God, and their protective powers are ardently invoked. Notre Dame de la So-and-So is not more devoutly worshipped, more dearly prized, or more truly assigned the virtual functions of God by the Roman Catholic, than are some of the great saints (Wâlîs) of the Mohammedan world. The present writer saw the Khedive of Egypt make a special journey to pray at the tomb of the Sheikh of Abukîr, a noted protector of those going a sea-voyage. The accepted explanation was that he was giving thanks for the Saint's protection on a recent occasion at sea. . . . At Cairo you may see men praying at the city gate where the departed spirit of a certain mighty Wâlî is supposed to linger ; hanging teeth, bits of rag, or other souvenirs, to keep the owners thereof before his exalted mind. And the same sort of thing goes on all over the Mohammedan world, sometimes reaching very degraded depths of pure superstition. As for relic-worship or relic-reverence, we heard of the Khalîfa lately praying at the shrine where are preserved some bones of the Prophet. The men of Cairo mob the "carpet" that

is sent annually to Mecca to cover the Kaaba, seeking to touch it for the blessing that it communicates. After it is finished with, fragments and scraps of it become relics, blessing the very house in which they are stored. . . . All these practices and engrafted acts of devotion are condemned by modern reformers of the 'Abd el Wahhâb or puritan type, and such men indignantly assert that they are a corruption of Islam. But orthodox example and Korânic precept can generally be found for them—the whole system of Wâlîs for example is defended on the score of one text in the Korân. And after all, what can be effectually said, when the very earthly centre of the religion itself is a sacred Black Stone, which aforetime was a fetish pure and simple, and is to this day paid the same outward honour as it was before, in act, and rite, and posture, by all Moslems whatsoever, following the example and the express command of the Founder ?

Prophets.

But far the most important conception of Islam in respect to the nexus between God and Man is the Prophet (or Apostle) with his inspired Book. The root of the

Arabic word for *prophet* means to tell clearly about the unseen; the word for *apostle* signifies, like the English word itself, one *sent*. Many of the thousands of prophets who, according to the beliefs of Islam, were sent in times past into the world, were given no "Book." Their work was to warn, and their inspiration was general. But the greater ones were inspired with "Books," yet the majority of these also perished, superseded by the four great revelations, the Tourâh given to Moses, the Zabûr to David, the Injîl to Jesus, and the Korân to Mohammed. The three former have, according to Moslems, though not according to Mohammed or the Korân, been hopelessly corrupted by Jews and Christians alike; when, where, why, or by whom is not clear: in any case the Korân stands out as being the last and greatest, virtually superseding all that had gone before, even as Mohammed as prophet surpasses all his predecessors, and closes the line of prophets, until Jesus ('Îsa) come again, followed by El Mahdi, and ushering in the end of the World.

Now we come to the interesting and im-
portant point connected with the Korân,

The Korân.

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considered as the perfected type of Revelation. It is considered to have been eternal and uncreate; to have been carried down by angels from the Highest Heaven to the Lowest on the Night of Power, and from thence to have been "brought down" by Gabriel piecemeal to (Arabic "upon") Mohammed in the revelations that came to him. The prophet was purely passive—indeed unconscious: the Book was in no sense his, neither its thought, nor language, nor style: *all* was of God, and the Prophet was merely a recording pen. The whole of the contents of the Korân from the sublimest doctrine down to the most trivial command (abrogated perhaps, a week or two after it was revealed, by another); from the passage describing the ineffableness of God down to the passage authorising Mohammed's marriage with the divorced wife of his adopted son:—*all* is equally, in kind and in degree, inspired and eternal and Divine. The word of God was in fact a Book, limited, it would seem, in quantity to the contents of this Korân, and communicated to Mankind through an unconscious prophet by the hand of an angel. Such is Islam's main solution

of the problem, how did the Infinite God project Himself into the ken of finite man? . . . The contrast between this doctrine of the Logos of Islam and the Logos of the Gospel furnishes food for very abundant thought

The puritans of Islam have made frequent attempts to make the Korân the sole source of religious knowledge, and to find in it all that is necessary not only for salvation in the next world, but for moral, social, and political guidance in this world also. But the historical evolution of Islam did not find the book sufficient for such an enormous programme. In elaborating a system that should cover the whole of life down to the proper way of cutting a water-melon, it was found absolutely necessary to accumulate more data to work on. The sanctity and the moral perfection ascribed to the Prophet soon supplied, in his recorded acts, conversations, and decisions, a vast amount of additional material, to which was attributed an inspiration virtually, though not theoretically, equal to that of the Book itself: so that to the first great "Pillar" of Islam (*the Korân*) was added a second, *Tradition* (Hadîth). The third was the unanimous consent of the con-

The four
Pillars of Islam.

temporaries of the Prophet (*Consensus-jmâ'*). The fourth Pillar was Analogical *Deduction* (Qijâs) from the statements or judgments afforded by all those sources.

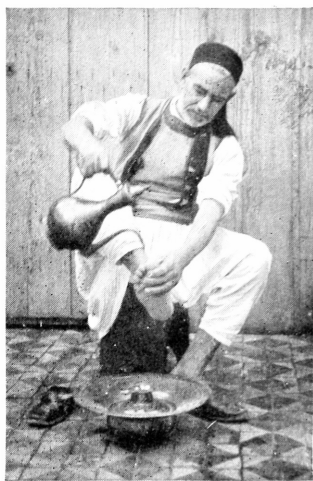
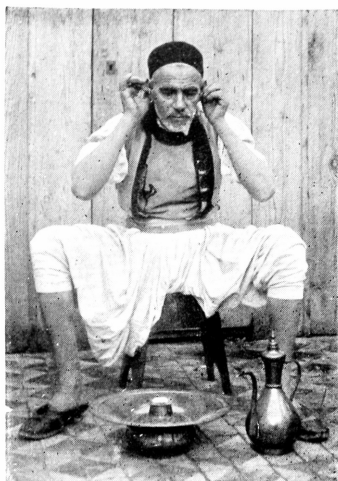
And thus was gradually evolved and elaborated the most colossal system which the world has ever seen or will see, more gigantic than even the system of Rabbinical Judaism which affords a parallel to it on so many points. For Islam being intrinsically a theocracy, religion covers all the functions of the state, and by the state its infinite decrees are enforced. Cæsar vanishes and God is all in all: the sword of Cæsar *is* the sword of Allah.

Finally this whole mass of statute, tradition, custom and analogy, was reduced, amplified, *and stereotyped* by the four great orthodox systematisers, who between them divide the allegiance of the whole of orthodox (Sunni) Islam. (See Appendix F.)

Practice.¹

It follows from all that has been said—whether of the Moslem conception of God, or of His relation and revelation to man, or of man himself—that the Moslem con-

¹ Islam divides religion into two parts: *belief* (all that has to do with creed)—*imân*, and *practice* (all that has to do with religious *duty*)—*dîn*.



MOSLEM ABLUTIONS

ception of the *practical* side of religion is the performance of certain well-defined *duties*.

The most important of those are authoritatively limited to five:—(1) *prayer*—at the stated times, after the prescribed language, form, and manner (genuflections, prostrations, etc.), and preceded by the prescribed purifications and ablutions, the details of which are far too numerous to mention—they all concern bodily purity and all involve the ceremonial use of water. (2) *Alms*—given according to well-defined rules. (3) *Fasting*—according to a strictly determined system, viz.: total abstention from sunrise to sunset during the month of Ramadân. (4) The *Pilgrimage* to Mecca, including the elaborate and minute ritual performed on arrival at the sacred site. (5) The Holy War (the last is not included by some doctors, and its stringency is in any case discounted by a host of “considerations”).

In Egypt, Mohammedans, at any rate in the country districts, are very punctual in the performance of their religious duties. Every one must needs be struck by the spectacle of the long ordered rows of Moslems at united prayer in the mosques,

Performance of
religious
duties :
(1) Prayer.

or of individual worshippers in field, or city. The air of quiet, of total absorption in the devotional task, and entire aloofness from their circumstances is most striking.

Looking around from an eminence one day in Cairo, the writer saw down into the interior of the open court of a mosque far beneath. It was the hour of mid-afternoon prayer, and the little company were standing, bowing, kneeling, prostrating together in two or three short rows, with that strange machine-like precision that accompanies Moslem worship. Their leader was the Sheikh of the mosque, in the usual flowing robes; behind him, an effendi (native gentleman) in black frock coat worshipped shoulder to shoulder with a coarsely clad workman from the streets; further on were a negro from the Sudan, an old middle-class merchant, and one or two young lads. . . . The concerted movements went steadily on till the end; the Recording Angels at right and at left were saluted by the swift turn of the head towards each shoulder; and the group broke up, and resuming slipper, shoe, or elastic-sided boot went their several ways. Thus and not otherwise has that afternoon

“hour” been performed for thirteen centuries; thus, without a hairsbreadth of deviation, will it be performed while Islam itself shall last.

Or the solitary worshipper. . . . Walking one day on the beach twelve miles east of Alexandria over the very site of Canopus of old, one who had strayed there saw a poor fisherman casting a line into the sea, and, after a lucky cast, hauling out a large fish. When next he looked, the man was prostrating himself towards Mecca!¹ The beach was utterly deserted. There, on the site of the riot luxury, the orgies, of that dead Græco-Roman world, where the sand was choking the mosaic floors of their villas, and the sea flooding the baths and fish-ponds cut for them out of the living rock, that poor fisherman in his one ragged blue garment was prostrating himself before Allah—the one solitary figure on that deserted coast, with its desolate beach, along which no longer echoed any voices save those of the singing of the north wind and the breaking of the long Mediterranean surf along the lonely shore.

¹ This is, indeed, a custom with the fisher-folk—after a catch, a prayer.

And other like solitary worshippers may be seen in the many-mansioned House of Islam, camel-driver in the desert, fellah in the boundless arable lands of the delta, boatman on sailing, porter on a bench in railway-station, portier in his lodge at the foot of the common-stair, wayfarer by the way-side. . . . No one takes any notice of the sight, or calls attention to it. Neither in passer-by nor in worshipper is there any embarrassment or surprise.

The exact and complicated formulæ of movements and of words have to be taught to little Moslem lads with much care. It is late in the evening in a back street in a provincial town,—the day's work is over, but one of the Oriental shops is still unshuttered. The owner, a merchant in silken robe, is giving his little boy some practice in the art of prayer. Down he ducks his little body, collapses on to his knees, bobs down his head, and so up again without changing the position of his toès. . . . The little fellow is giggling, as small boys do when they are being taught some new feat.

Unauthorised devotions of a less regular order are very popular in Egypt, as they

are all over the House of Islam. At that great city gate a man is bowing his head, resting his brow on the huge nails that stud the wood-work: he is, very clearly, pouring out his heart to the saint whose spirit lurks behind the door. He is an ignorant fellow, perhaps: but that other one is dressed in Azhar robes. He is a Sheikh, and he is fixing on to one of the iron studs a twist of cotton which may recall him to the mind of the saint. . . .¹

Almsgiving, as well as prayer, is a duty. (2) *Almsgiving.* How often, at some halt of the tramway, you see a beggar pass along by the car. He passes an effendi—there is a quick movement towards the waist-coat pocket, from whence a minute coin is transferred into the twisted palm of the maimed object beneath. You may look narrowly, but you shall see neither the light of interest nor sympathy in the eye of the donor, nor of gratitude or even pleasure in the eye of the recipient. Each is a necessary feature in the act, the real interest of which for the donor lies in the merit added thereby to his credit column in the future life.²

The month of the fast is a phenomenon (3) *Fasting.*

¹ See picture on p. 168. . ² Lane, p. 263.

that forces itself on the attention of every one in a Moslem land. The gun is fired at sunset, the little gamins raise a shout (not that *they* have been fasting all day !), and the world of Islam addresses itself to the genial dissipations of a Ramadân night, the month of fast whose nights are the jolliest in the year. More is spent on meat and drink and clothes during the month of fast than any other, and it is a high time for merchants and tradespeople. Not so good a time is it for employers or teachers in the schools ; for very sleepy and sulky-tempered is the fasting Mohammedan liable to be—and no wonder, for the terrible privation of a summer Ramadân, when during the burning day no drop of water must pass the lips, must be an awful trial. And there is always the upset given to the digestive system because of having to eat thrice betwixt sunset and dawn, with broken sleep in between.

These duties, with Confession of the short Moslem creed, make up the Whole Duty of Man in this sense, that the doer of these things shall live by them to all eternity. But we have already seen how every sphere of life and duty is determined by the laws

laid down by the sacred system. To attempt to describe these is of course impossible. All we can do here is to summarise.

The Moslem, we may say, divides ethical practice into three parts, what *must* be done, what *may* be done, and what may *not* be done: what is enjoined, permitted, and forbidden. Statutes define the limits of his actions on each side—*e.g.* he may have *four* wives at once, but not *five*. And statutes also prescribe the punishments which are merited by the various possible violations of the statutes. In a word, religion takes over the functions of the law-court or police-court, and identifies its functions with theirs. This theoretically only; for in practice every ruler has found himself compelled to add to this Shari'at or sacred law, and to place alongside of it a body of administrative decrees, *i.e.* civil law. But the strict Moslem in his heart of hearts thinks that the Shari'at is sufficient or ought to be made so, and that these man-made institutions are *kuf'r*, or unbelief. In either case morality becomes identified with law: on earth the punishment obliterates the crime: and in heaven, good and evil deeds are

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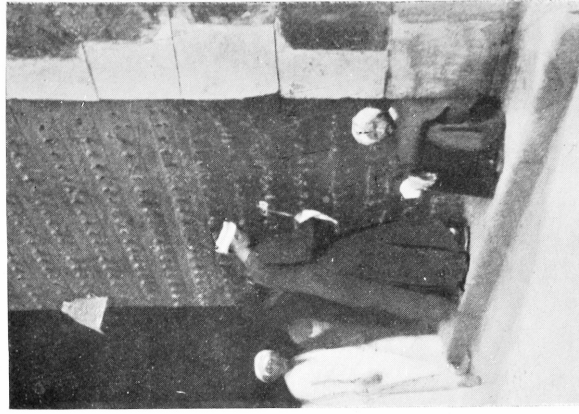
carefully computed, like credit and debit columns, some sins being "great," and others "little," and assessment being made according to value: as the balance inclines, so is the fate of the soul. No true Moslem, however, even if his balance is to the bad, will be condemned to the eternal fire, but only to the purgatorial flame for a season; his "faith," provided it be intellectually genuine, saves him; while they who are without that "faith" are without the one work, the absence of which cannot be balanced by all other good works soever. The only inefficacious faith recognised by Islam is that which is outwardly professed, but definitely denied in the heart of the professor.

**Ethical
tendency of
Islam.**

It will thus be seen that Mohammedanism in its whole tendency opposes statute to principle; isolated acts, to attitude of soul. We need not elaborate the ethical results that flow naturally from this attitude of mind. The New Testament is the textbook for such a study. Yet we know how a strict enumeration of the obligations and conditions of almsgiving will not tend to produce liberality; how a clearly defined marriage-law will not produce purity; how



THE BAB ZUWAYLA, CAIRO
Offering prayer to the Wali



THE BAB ZUWAYLA, CAIRO
*Azhar Sheikh tying something to door in devotion
to Spirit of Wali behind door*

a complicated code will not produce justice; how individual prohibitions, like that against wine for example, will not produce temperance; nor like that against the taking of interest, cure the spirit of greed; and how all taken together will not produce the spirit needed. Life and spirit alone can beget life and spirit.

In spite of this Islam has produced its saints whose love for the law rose to a love for Allah, and for whom therefore the dispensation of spirit was in principle present.

But it is the *tendency* we are studying, and the claim of two religions to be the Universal Religion for the human spirit. Can a religion of Ordinances and an ordinance-giving Ruler be the last and latest word of God to man, the universal religion for the human race?

Islam, then, is not merely a personal religion; nor on the other hand is it merely a political system. But much more is it, like Brahmanism and some other faiths, a great social system, woven into a texture, compacted into a fabric, which covers the whole life of an individual from the cradle to the

Social system
of Islam.

grave. According to that system his parents were married, according to it he is born and reared ; circumcised ; educated (if he is educated) at village school in the village mosque ; at collegiate mosque in Cairo or Damascus or Lucknow ; grows up, marries, has children, divorces ; lives his domestic life, conducts his business ; settles his disputes at the Cadi's court ;¹ is punished if he offends ; thinks, acts, prays, fasts, reads, studies, philosophises—for the vast literature of Islam is sufficient to monopolise his attention and limit his horizon all his days—makes his will, and disposes of his property ; dies, is buried, and is prayed for (it may be) in his little domed tomb-mosque, for ages and ages,² until . . .

Until what ? To the natural understanding it seems utterly impossible that that *until* shall ever have an ending “until He come.” But the eye of faith has also its vision, and the prophecy on the Church Mosque of Damascus still stands.

Conclusion.

Our survey is finished : it cannot how-

¹ In so far as that court has not been encroached on by civil “unauthorised” ones.

² If he leaves a sufficient sum, the interest of which may be expended on this purpose.

ever be hoped that any such survey shall commend itself to all as completely just, or as giving a complete and a fair impression of the system itself. We therefore close with one observation that will hardly fail to command assent, even of the Moslem reader who may chance to read these pages: Islam and Christianity are incompatible; they are different in ethos, in aim, in scope, in sympathy. Islam is the later born. If then it is not, as it claims, a definite advance on Christianity, or rather a correction of the latter's corruption, then it is as definitely retrograde. If, in its very constitution, it is unfitted to be the universal religion, because only a religion in which Spirit is supreme and fundamental, and rite definitely subordinate to Spirit, can be universal, *then* the religion of Christ is the universal religion. But if so, then that religion, as preached to the Mohammedan, must indeed be a religion of Spirit, of the Spirit of Jesus. We have nothing else to give them. Most futile, most disappointing, and most foolish of all quests would be that which were only to seek to substitute for one ritual another, for one system another system, for devotion to one series

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of ordinances another series. Christianity has always cut its most pitiful figure when seen trying to meet Islam with Islam's weapons, or competing with it on its own ground. Nothing but the Spirit can bind and free Islam. Let the Church that does not believe in the Holy Ghost save herself the trouble of attempting the conversion of Islam. The Spirit of the Father in Jesus Christ—we have nothing else to give Islam : no, NOTHING ! We owe to that great host that follows the great Mohammed the realisation, final and definitive, that *the Spirit of Jesus is the only asset of the Church.*

QUESTIONS ON CHAPTER IV

1. By what process do you consider that Mohammed passed to his belief in Allah?

2. What are the seven primary attributes of Allah in the Korân? Comment on the meaning of the last three.

3. Explain the fact that the conception of a living God that wills and acts does not in itself necessarily imply the conception of

(1) God as Love.

(2) God as Holiness. [See App. (A), (B).]

4. Explain the fact that Mohammedans as a rule have no deep conception of the sinfulness of sin.

5. What does Islam teach of a future life?

6. How does Islam attempt to bridge the gulf between God and man?

7. What is meant by the Four Pillars of Islam?

8. What practical duties are enjoined by Islam? How far does their performance tend to mould character? Give reasons for your answer.

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CHAPTER V

HOW WORKS IT ?

Problem.

HAVING seen what this Islam *is*, it is natural to ask : What does it *do* ?, How does it *work* ?, in the lands to which, as we have seen, it has succeeded in spreading.

Difficulty of problem.

Now this is a subject which, in the nature of it, is by no means an easy one. *Why* it is not easy may best be realised by imagining a counter-question : How does the *Christian* religion work in the countries to which Christianity has spread ? Immediately difficulties would arise as to whether this or that form of Christianity was really Christian at all, and if it was not, or if it was seriously divergent from the religion of Christ's Spirit, whether its results could fairly be taken as typical. Or again, there would be controversies as to whether certain effects observed in Christian countries were attributable to religion or to other causes, or yet again to Christianity *indirectly*, rather than directly.

In the face of such difficulties the lover of exact truth might almost decline to undertake the task, so difficult is it to disentangle social causes and effects, so easy is it to make disingenuous generalisations, so easy to prove to one who is already convinced what he *wants* to be proved, so difficult to demonstrate the same thing to one who is indifferent or hostile. It is common in the East to come across attacks on Christianity, in which all the defects and failures of the civilisation of Christendom are attributed to the Christian religion, and all its successes to secular causes. Equally inevitably, the backwardness of Islamic countries is attributed to secular causes, and all the good to be found in the world of Islam, past or present, to the religion itself.

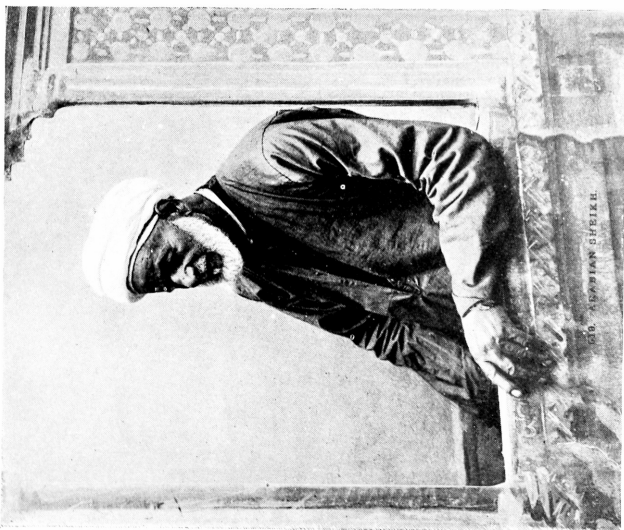
On the whole, however, it is more feasible to learn the effect of Islam than of most other religions: Islam is not merely a religion, but is also—and this is one of its own proudest boasts—a great social system. As we have seen, the religious, political, and social elements are literally one and inseparable. In countries, therefore, where Islam is supreme, it is fairly just

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to attribute observed results, on the whole, to Islam itself as cause. In other words, in the world of Islam religion does work directly.

Arabia.

If Islam were to be judged by the moral and social state of Arabia, the country of its birth, the land where it has had sole, exclusive, and all-inclusive sway, it would indeed stand condemned. Not even the Moslem can take any pride in the state of the Arabian Peninsula, and the Hejâz, with the Holy Cities of Mecca and El Medina, in particular. Unenlightened, backward, semi-barbarous, infested with bandits, the land as a whole presents the picture of a country lamentably low in the social scale. And if it be said that Arabia is isolated and has not had the advantage of being in the main current of world-civilisation, the reply must be, "By whom, and wherefore was it so isolated?" Has it not been most carefully and deliberately isolated by the express decree of Mohammed himself, faithfully and enthusiastically obeyed by his followers? So that to this day a Christian is in danger of his life if he travels in the country, and will certainly forfeit it, if he is found in Mecca or El Medina.



MOSLEM SHEIKH, CAIRO



MOSLEM SHEIKH, PALESTINE

Arabia is still a centre of the slave trade. (1) **Slavery.** The attitude of Islam to slavery is a very good example of how that religion, in prescribing humanitarian regulations for the conduct of a bad business, necessarily *recognises* the custom, and recognising it permits it, and permitting virtually commands it, at least in the sense of making its absolute prohibition illegal and impious. Slavery can never be really prohibited by Mohammedans, for the sacred law allows it, and so sanctions it for ever.

The theory of the *Jehâd*, too, gives an apparently irrefutable sanction to slave-raiding. It is difficult to see *how* the scoundrels who raid the tribes in the interior of Africa could be condemned on Mohammedan principles. "Are not these tribes idolaters?" They are. "Does not the *Korân* command incessant war against all idolaters?" It does. "And did it make in their favour any of the merciful reservations that were made in favour of Christians and Jews?" It did not. "And are not our raids war?" They are. "And may we not kill, or keep alive the men, and make slave-concubines of the women, as is

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explicitly prescribed in a hundred Korânic texts ? ” You may. . . .

So the last link in this chain of logic is the slave-markets that exist all over the Moslem world, except where European influence makes them impossible. Read what the unimpeachable Doughty says of Jiddah, the port of Mecca.

“ Jiddah is the staple town of African slavery for the Turkish Empire ; Jiddah, where are Frankish consuls. But you shall find these worthies in the pallid solitude of their palaces, affecting the simplicity of new-born babes ; they will tell you they are not aware of it ! . . . But I say again in your ingenuous ears, Jiddah is the staple town of the Turkish slavery, or all the Moslems are liars. . . . I told them we had a treaty with the Sultan to suppress slavery. ‘ Dog,’ cries the fellow, ‘ thou liar !—are there not thousands of slaves at Jiddah that every day are bought and sold ? ’ ” ¹

(2) Pilgrimage. Every year the pilgrimage ² flows through Arabia converging on the favoured city of Mecca. It is one of the strongest bonds of union among Moslems, and has great influence in spreading missionary zeal. Thousands of zealous Moslems, from all

¹ “ Arabia Deserta,” vol. ii., last chapter.

² Cf. Zwemer’s “ Islam,” pp. 109-113.

over the House of Islam, throng to this holy spot, the magnetic centre of the Mohammedan world. The pilgrim is, however, lucky if he only loses his money, in a town where through filth and disease he may lose his life, or through the immorality that is shamelessly and openly practised he may lose his soul. Many a Moslem has left the holy city sick at heart!

Read the following account of the *Moslem* Hadji Khan, of the slave market at *Mecca* in 1902,—an open slave market near the House of God itself¹ :—

“Go there and see for yourself the condition of the human chattels you purchase. You will find them, thanks to the vigilance of British cruisers, less numerous and consequently more expensive than they were in former years; but there they are, flung pell-mell in the open square. . . . The dealer standing by, cried out: ‘Come and buy; the first-fruits of the season, delicate, fresh, and green; come and buy, strong and useful, faithful and honest. Come and buy.’ The day of sacrifice was past, and the richer pilgrims in their brightest robes gathered around. One among them singled out the girl. They entered a booth together. The mother was left behind. One word she uttered, or was it a moan of inarticulate grief? Soon after the girl came back. And the dealer, when the bargain was over,

¹ Hadji Khan “With the Pilgrims to Mecca.”

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said to the purchaser : ' I sell you this property of mine, the female slave Narcissus, for the sum of forty pounds.' Thus the bargain was clinched. . . . Men slaves could be bought for sums varying from fifteen pounds to forty pounds. The children in arms were sold with their mothers, an act of mercy ; but those that could feed themselves had to take their chance. . . .

Such is the Holy City to-day.

(3) Wāhhābi
Movement.

So bad had the condition of Arabia, and Mecca in particular, become in the eighteenth century, that a strong puritan revival took place under the leadership of Mohammed Abd ul Wāhhāb, called the Wāhhābi movement. It strove to introduce education, reform morals, and cut away superstitions that had accreted to the faith. And for some time real progress was made. But very soon everything slipped back.

"To-day even a well-armed caravan dares to travel only by day through Hassa and Yemen. Negatively, Wāhhābiism is a strong argument that Islam even when reformed into its original principles and practices has no power to save a people or introduce permanent progress. . . . There is no better polemic than a presentation of the present intellectual, social and moral condition of Arabia. . . . Doughty and Palgrave, who both crossed the heart of Arabia, have given it as their verdict that there is no hope

for this land in Islam. It has been tried zealously for thirteen hundred years and piteously failed."

That secular causes profoundly affect the moral and social life of every nation, whether its established religion be Christianity or Islam, we must, of course, amply recognise. We should therefore expect to find a higher and more developed life in countries like Egypt and Turkey, which are more on the world's highway, and can give and take more generously in the free exchange of ideas and material improvements.

Egypt and the Mohammedan realms of the near East.

Syria, Irâk, and Egypt have been Mohammedan countries from the first. Syria under the Omayyads, Egypt under the Fâtimides and the early Mamlûkes, Irâk under the Abbasides, the Omayyad kingdom of Cordova in the West, were brilliantly distinguished as centres of light and learning. Science and letters flourished, and a high degree of receptivity was displayed in the readiness to profit by non-Islamic learning, such as that of the Greeks. The Saracens, moreover, were deemed polite, chivalrous, just: humanitarian ideas can assuredly be traced in the establishment of free schools and free hospitals, and even

lunatic asylums, the buildings of which stand in Cairo, for example, to this day. For centuries Islam was the chief *intellectual* light-bearer—one had almost said the only one—for Europe and Western Asia.

At the same time, the present condition of these countries, the inner circle of Islam, round the core Arabia, gives ground for the conviction that Islam has not within itself the power of constant advance. It can hardly be due to accident, or to mere secular mischance, that the light once held up by Islam should have been quenched in these lands, and that, not only in political power and scientific attainment, but even in literature itself, Islam has for centuries been living on the memory of past glories.

How Islam has
worked
politically.

We have noted in the first place the conspicuous and fatal failure of the Moslem political system to evolve in a constitutional direction, or to give the least training to its peoples in self-government. A blighting autocracy has been the invariable rule, with its accompaniment of parasites, favourites, sycophants; oppression, maladministration, embezzlement, and bakhshish, from Sultan at the top to the

meanest official at the bottom of the administrative ladder. And thus the whole Moslem East has sunk back to where it is to-day.

It is true everywhere that politics show human nature at its very weakest; Christianity itself has not been able to do more than partially purify political life by contributing to it lives which individually are possessed by the ideal of Christ. Yet belief does react on life. Is it therefore wonderful if the Moslem conception of Allah has tended to make Islamic rulers unable to connect authority with duty and to dissociate it from irresponsible power, leading to oppression? At a debate in Cairo, one young student boldly said that the autocratic ideals of the East were the result of its monarchic theology,—intending to defend both by saying so. He was taken to task by some Russian Moslems, who maintained that the earliest political ideal of Islam was constitutional. And this is a favourite thesis to-day.

It is remarkable that in the recent revival which seems to have touched the whole Orient, Turkey has been successful in claiming a constitution, while Persia

Modern reform movements.

and Egypt are agitating for that privilege. This state of things, however, has not come about by the growth of the idea of civil liberty, so much as in imitation of other countries. It remains to be seen how soon the reformers will realise the account that must sooner or later be settled up between real civil and religious liberty and Mohammedan sacred law or "Sharîat" (including the Korân, and the Traditions), which figured so ominously in the counter-revolution at Constantinople in April, 1909, and which may thus figure again and yet again. It remains to be seen whether nationalism is really possible in Islam—that is to say, whether the *zimmi* (Christian or Jewish subject) can ever be really accorded equal rights with the Moslem in Moslem states; whether the habit of freedom can be taught; and whether the root of the whole social evil, the position of women, can be touched, while a belief in the Korân remains. While the great drama is being worked out, it is premature and unfair to speak, yet a doubt may be expressed. At all events the world of Islam to-day feels it has not yet played its last card: it desires to vindicate itself by trying to



PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION AT CONSTANTINOPLE. BALLOT-BOX BEING TAKEN TO THE SUBLIME PORTE
With acknowledgments to the British and Foreign Bible Society

assimilate the modern ideas which it perforce recognises as true.¹

But apart from the problematic future, we have the historical past :—by the confession of the entire Moslem world itself, nothing could have been more deplorable from every point of view, moral, social, intellectual, political, and even religious, than the state of all Moslem lands before the reform movement from the West agitated them. This was freely admitted at a Moslem Conference held lately at Mecca. It has been again admitted by a Slavonic Moslem, Dr Gisprinski, who, at the very time of writing, is summoning a Pan-Islamic Conference to meet at Cairo, with the express object of turning the Pan-Islamic movement into entirely ethical channels, and using it to promote the moral, social, and spiritual regeneration of Islam. Is this confessed failure, then, due to Islam, or is it not? All that can be said is that Islam had practically had an absolute monopoly of influence where that state of things had been brought about; and that the impulse to-

¹ Cf. Professor Margoliouth's paper, *Pan-Anglican Congress Report*, 1908, D. 4 (g).

wards change in no case sprang—apparently could not have sprung—from any purely Islamic source. These are, at least, two solid facts. The “movements” that spring from purely Islamic sources are typified by names like Abd ul Wahhâb, the Mahdi, El-Senûssi. . . . And these movements are movements—backwards.

How Islam has
worked
morally.

How has Islam worked out in these countries morally? What we have already said of course bears on this subject in ways that are obvious—for corrupt political and social conditions can only produce a low general morality. But the thing which above all others affects our judgment of the religion of Islam is the hard fact regarding the position of women.¹

Position of
women.

The matter of the *family* is fundamental, and with this is bound up the question of the position accorded to women. And here, the responsibility of Islam for the state of woman, and the degradation of family life, is a matter about which there can be no doubt, for it goes directly back to the Korânic laws of marriage, divorce,

¹ The following pages to p. 201, especially those on the position of women, refer to the general standard of Moslem life and morals in all lands.

polygamy, and concubinage, and the consequent view of womanhood encouraged, nay necessitated, thereby; a view decidedly re-inforced by the Traditions of the Prophet taken in their whole sweep. It is perfectly true, as apologists for Islam in Cairo and elsewhere are never tired of pointing out, that in one or two respects—*e.g.* the matter of giving women power over their own property—the precept of the Korân gave them a status which the legislation of the West has only by very slow degrees accorded them. But that aspect of freedom contrasts strangely with the chattel-like position which beyond all controversy women occupy in the Moslem East. For example in a recent Egyptian law-suit about a female convert to Christianity, it was ruled by a Moslem court—and there was no court in Egypt competent to dispute the decision—that no unmarried woman has the right to choose where she will live until she reaches extreme old age. On these grounds the woman was handed back to her guardian, a brother. Her religious opinions and every other consideration were totally disregarded in the

proceedings and the judgment, and she was taken back to a dark and uncertain fate in her home in Syria. She was a chattel in the hand of her brother, and had she been married she would have been the same in the hand of her husband. As the following quotation from Ghazzâli, the greatest of all Mohammedan doctors, makes finally clear:—"Marriage is a kind of slavery, for the wife becomes the slave of her husband, and it is her duty to obey him absolutely in everything he requires of her, except in what is contrary to the laws of Islam."¹ In other words she is considered a minor for practically her whole term of life.

Similarly, woman is secluded, especially in the upper classes. Up to the time of Mohammed the Arabian woman enjoyed a great deal of social freedom; her relationship with the other sex was healthier and franker than it has ever been since. Seclusion and the veil are explicitly commanded in the Korân itself: yet the *occasion* of the fatal texts, which have fixed the fates of so many millions of women ever since, was nothing more than the

¹ Quoted by Zwemer, "Islam," p. 127.

annoyance of the Prophet when his domestic privacy had been slightly disturbed ;¹ just as the occasion for the ordinance which makes legal evidence on a charge of adultery practically unprocurable was another event in his purely personal and domestic history.

As for woman herself, she more than acquiesces in the position assigned to her. The strictness of her imprisonment indeed is taken by her as the measure of her husband's love and care. She becomes void of interests and ambitions. It is not, it cannot be, from *her* side that her emancipation will come.

In Egypt and in certain other lands, there have been recent signs of a movement directed towards this emancipation. For example, the late Kâsim Bey Amîn strove with might and main for the modernisation of Islamic sentiment with regard to women. His attempt was all against the stream, and ended in failure. A recent writer of the free, younger generation of journalists, in an imaginary dialogue between the

¹ Sura 33 : Sale's note. See also Sura 24. These passages are quoted in Muir's "Life of Mohammed," pp. 283, 4.

shades of Kâsim Amîn and another dead reformer, the late Sheikh Mohammed Abdu, could only represent the one as sadly giving, the other as sadly accepting blame for having striven unwisely and prematurely. "The time has not come." . . . But while the direct injunction of the Korân bars the way, can the time ever come, in any effectual sense? One of the causes of the counter-revolution in Constantinople (April 1909) was the suspicion that the traditional treatment of women in these respects was being tampered with by the reformers.

But the *causes* that dictated these ordinances about women go down far deeper than the mere occasions in the life of the Prophet already alluded to.¹ For the whole tendency of polygamy, slave concubinage, and unlimited divorce is to create an unhealthy and suspicious atmosphere, which necessitates the seclusion of the supposed creators of it. In Cairo, as all over the Moslem world, one walks under the tall, featureless walls that enclose the houses of the Moslem gentry, the windows of which houses all look *inwards* into the

¹ See Sura 24, the Ayesha incident, and Sale's notes; and "Muir's Life," pp. 283, 285, and notes.

court—not one outwards. . . . The male visitor to such a house never passes beyond the outer court, or at most the ground-floor rooms. . . . The most distant allusion to the mysterious inhabitants of the upper region would be considered intolerable. If a schoolmaster has to allude to the mother of a boy in talking to him, he will say “The Family,” or “The Household,” not “Your Mother.” Why this permanently strained and unhealthy feeling? Here is the answer: that the marriage-bond is at the discretion of the husband to hold or break, and that any man can, therefore, look upon any married woman (relatives excepted) as within his reach by marriage; and that every married woman can feel (like Zainab, whom Alî divorced that she might wed Mohammed), that she may become the lawful wife of any other man who can persuade her husband to pronounce a divorce! ¹

These and other regulations then, on this most vital of all subjects, are the definite ordinance of the Korân. Apart from the particular evils, which will be abundantly illustrated in what follows,

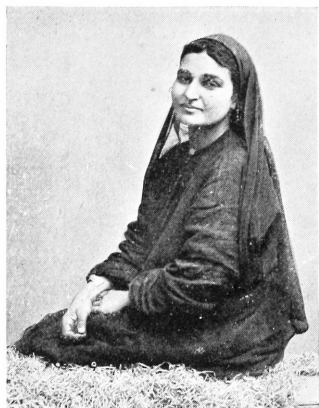
¹ Muir, *loc. cit.*

there is this general, all-pervading one :— those regulations are a continually intruded emphasis of that aspect of the relation of the sexes which of all others needs no emphasising. Man forces on himself—and on her—just the view of woman least calculated to raise her in his eyes, and she, finding herself so regarded, acquiesces in his judgment. The words and life of Mohammed himself have tended to fix this opinion of womanhood :—“ Woman was made from a crooked rib,” he said, “ and if you try to bend it straight, it will break.”

Slave-concubinage.

With regard to slave-concubinage, the times are not favourable to its extensive practice in some parts of the House of Islam. But in Turkey and elsewhere it is still common enough. It will be sufficient to give quotations, one from Stanley Lane-Poole, whose general attitude to all things Mohammedan is most sympathetic :

“ It is not so much in the matter of wives, but of concubines, that Mohammed made such an irretrievable mistake. The condition of the female slave in the east is indeed deplorable. She is at the entire mercy of her master, who can do what he pleases with her and her companions,—for the Moslem is not restricted in the number of his concubines, as



EGYPTIAN PEASANT (FELLAHA)



WOMAN FROM N. AFRICA



EGYPTIAN WOMAN



BEGAM, INDIA

TYPES OF MOSLEM WOMEN

he is in that of his wives. . . . The female white slave is sold when he is tired of her, and so she passes from master to master, a very wreck of womanhood. Her condition is a little improved if she bare a son to her tyrant; but even then he is at liberty to refuse to acknowledge the child as his own, though it must be owned he seldom does this. Kind as the Prophet was himself towards bondswomen, one cannot forget the unutterable cruelties which he allowed his followers to inflict on conquered nations in the taking of slaves. The Moslem soldier was allowed to do as he pleased with any 'infidel' woman he might meet with on his victorious march. When one thinks of the thousands of women, mothers and daughters, who must have suffered untold shame and dishonour, he cannot find words to express his horror. This cruel indulgence has left its mark on the Moslem character, nay, on the whole character of eastern life."

These things are not confined to past ages, they have been practised in the spring of 1909 in Asia Minor.

A correspondent writes from Tarsus on April 24 concerning the Adana massacres:—

"It would not be right to give you the worst particulars. We have cases of women and children deliberately butchered with the men. Among the wounded there are multitudes of them; we hear of a pastor and his family, seven people, burned together in one house; hosts of younger women have been outraged . . . carried away to harems, their names changed to Moslem ones."

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Bishop Steere¹ writes in 1880, but his words still apply:—

“I have often heard before that Mohammedanism had a more practical influence than Christianity, because there were no immoral women in the streets as in London. . . . The streets are empty of these women because the houses are full of them, and there is no scandal, because there is no shame. . . . A man may go to the houses where women are kept for sale . . . buy as many as he likes, and need not keep one of them an hour longer than he pleases. . . . These women have no choice or hope of escape. They have been taken as young girls, not unfrequently taken by force out of a Christian home, and whipped and starved into learning their lesson. . . . If a woman bear one of her masters a son whom he will acknowledge, she may hope to be pensioned off for life. On the other hand she may at any time be maimed for life, or tortured to death, and no one will take any notice, or so much as ask why. . . . This is the kind of slavery which English officials are recommended not to interfere with. . . . The result of the Mohammedan system seems to me to be a hopeless depravation of the standard of *men's* thoughts.”

Polygamy and divorce.

Polygamy and divorce go together, for unlimited right of divorce establishes a virtually unlimited polygamy—the only limitation being that a man may not have more

¹ “Memoir of Bishop Steere,” chap. xix., U.M.C.A., 9 Dartmouth St., S.W.

than four wives *at once*. Very real and very terrible are the woes that follow, necessarily, from the Korânic ordinances in this respect; woes that therefore have the sanction of sacred law, for all time. Divided families, favouritism, heart-burnings, jealousies, separation from children, despair, cruel injustices, ruination to the character of the man, the life of the woman—such are the bitter fruits of the tree planted by Mohammed in the name of Allah. A man may and does divorce his wife without cause, save his own disappointment or whim, immediately after marriage—or even worse, after many years of married life. Every divorce means a blow to the woman's self-respect, a diminution of her market-value, a cruel separation in many cases from her children. . . . In a tram car in Cairo the other day, an Egyptian woman chatted with an English fellow-passenger. She was going down quite as a matter of course to take her divorced daughter from her ex-husband's house back to her own! Oh sordid ending! and very simply she remarked, "Our Moslem customs are 'like pitch'" (*i.e.* as

bad as they can be). The testimony was all the more effective because so artless. She said "*customs*," but she meant—and knew not she meant—religious law, never, never to be abrogated, while Islam itself and the Korân stand.

Few indeed are the marriages even in civilised Egypt that do not end in divorce! "There are many men in Egypt," says Lane, "who in the course of ten years have married as many as twenty, thirty, or even more wives." And to this day it is terribly common. One of the ways in which this system works is the duplicity it often encourages in the wife of the moment, stinting and cheating her husband in the household expenses in every possible way, against the day when she shall have to shift for herself. In this process her family ably second her. But why multiply details as to how such a system works out? ¹

We add one story, ending happily, of a husband and wife from Afghanistan. The poorer classes there cannot afford to seclude their women, and therefore punish them barbarously in the case of what

¹ It will be enough to read Lane's account, "*Modern Egyptians*," chap. vi.

they consider undue familiarity with a man.¹

“Two years ago a forbidding-looking Afghan brought down his wife to the Bannu Mission Hospital. In a fit of jealousy he had cut off her nose, but when he reflected in a cooler moment that he had paid a good sum for her, and had only injured his own property and his domestic happiness, he was sorry for it, and brought her to us to restore to her as far as possible her pristine beauty. The usual operation, performed with certain modifications, is that of bringing down a portion of skin from the forehead, and stitching it on to the raw surface where the nose has been cut off. This woman had a low forehead, so I said to the husband that I did not think the result of the operation would be very satisfactory; but if he would pay the price I would purchase him an artificial nose from England. . . .

“‘How much will it cost?’ said the Afghan.

“‘About thirty rupees.’

“There was a silence: he was evidently racked by conflicting sentiments.

“‘Well, my man, what are you thinking about? Will you have it or no?’

“‘I was thinking, sir,’ he replied, ‘you say it costs thirty rupees, and I could get a new wife for eighty rupees.’ . . . He ultimately decided to have the original wife patched up, paid the money, and I procured him the article from England, which gave, I believe, entire satisfaction, and the last time I heard of them they were living happily together.”

¹ “Among the Wild Tribes of the Afghan Frontier”—
PENNELL.

Can these evils
be reformed
from within ?

When we come to study Islam in India we shall find a real, though cautiously expressed, revolt against this whole system, based on a revolt against its underlying conceptions. It there takes the form of reading into original Islam an opposite intention, an opposite "spirit." According to these reformers, the "spirit of Islam" and of the Korân text was to accord to woman a sort of chivalrous, awed devotion, by surrounding her with an element of mystery (!): to *discourage* polygamy, by limiting it: and so forth. The method is not in itself a bad one—the Lord Jesus Christ Himself¹ employed it in explaining the Mosaic law. But, unfortunately, the one thing Mohammed himself made for ever impossible was the advent of any Greater One to construe and perfect his law. For himself he claimed to be the final Prophet—for his law he claimed absolute finality. That claim has been endorsed by his followers. Can it ever be explained away?

Abd-el-Wahhâb, El Mahdi, and El Senûssi would not have the Moslem customs changed as regards women. If it is objected that they were only barbarians,

¹ S. Matt. xix. 8.

what shall we say of the enlightened Sheikh, Mohammed Abdu, the Egyptian reformer, the praised of Lord Cromer? Probably the secret personal convictions of this man were identical with those of Indian reformers who desire to raise the status of women; but in cutting at tradition and traditionalism, he ended by merely suggesting to his followers a more servile adherence to the *Korân*. And thus it comes about that one of these followers enthusiastically told the writer recently that he favoured a return to the Korânic precept of cutting off a hand for theft; while another,—in a book which was intended to be a sort of manifesto of Reformed Islam!—defends the Moslem law of polygamy, because a man's heart has room for more than one wife just as it has for more than one sister; and that of divorce, because the fear of divorce ever hanging over the wife will make her diligent to please her husband, and so love will be begotten and maintained! while moreover the natural instincts of men may require more than one woman! The important point to remember is that this sort of thinking emanates from two of the younger school, trained

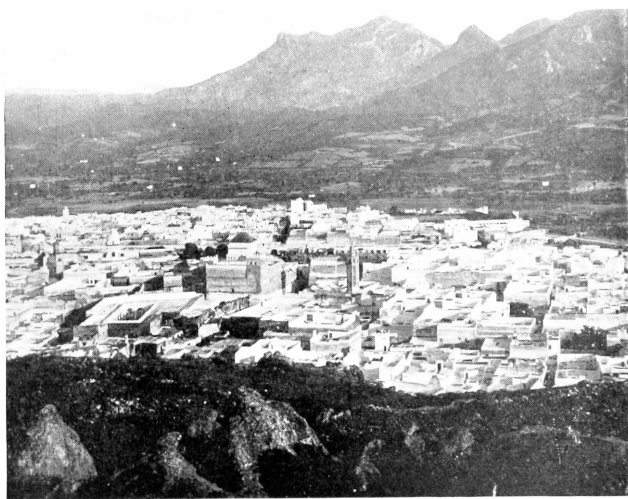
with the highest modern education that the Egypt of to-day can give, followers of the most celebrated "liberal" that Egypt has yet produced. It simply means that in the last resort, the whole system, *having been sanctioned in the Korân, has invariably to be defended by arguments as the best possible one.*

General
morality.

The existence of a clear command and direction is a potent thing with a Moham-medan. The Moslem merchant is not much troubled, one imagines, by questions of "trade and morality," but will sometimes renounce the interest paid on his deposit at the bank, in obedience to the Korânic command denouncing usury, a term which he takes to cover all interest. In the same way, the humane directions of the Korân and the Traditions make many Moslems kind to animals; the flat prohibition of all liquor has made greatly for sobriety so far as outward appearances go; and the condemnation of games of chance has checked gambling. Less favourable features are the diffused sensuality that seems literally to permeate society; the utter want of mutual trust and real co-operation; the all-prevailing



THE SHORES OF CARTHAGE



TETUAN, MOROCCO

religiosity backed by the slenderest ethical achievement. Lane and many others have remarked how religiosity and immorality can co-exist, often without exciting the slightest remark or the least sense of incongruity. He cites a poem, which he once read, in which an immoral intrigue is rapturously described (with the definite intent of its stimulating an enraptured audience), and the narration is followed, without change of voice or tone, by a perfectly general request for the forgiveness of Allah and the mediation of the Prophet. The sheikh to whom he showed it, worthy man, could see nothing in the least wrong . . . was not the order of things most logical? transgressions committed first, pardon requested second? Contrast that poem which Lane heard with the fifty-first psalm . . . !

Morocco on the extreme west is as strong
 a witness for Islam as Arabia in the east,
 for here also Islam has had the exclusive
 and all-inclusive right of influence. And
 the same may be said for Tripoli, in
 the Barbary States. Between these two
 states lie Tunis and Algiers, both of them

North Africa :
 Morocco,
 Tripoli, Tunis,
 Algiers.

governed by France.¹ It must be confessed that in none of these four countries does one gain the impression that Islam can save a nation, or raise up a modern civilisation. The Mohammedanism of all four lands is of the straitest and most orthodox description. No attempt has been made to water down the Korân, the Traditions, or the Canon Law. These are followed with remarkable fidelity and literalness. And the result we see. There is Morocco in a state of permanent semi-anarchy, too fanatical to allow the entry of light and education; too weak to evolve self-government, yet too strong in lawlessness to set up or maintain an effective autocracy. Ninety per cent. are illiterate; polygamy, divorce, slavery, concubinage, seclusion of women, and immorality are all described as "common" or "general." Material progress there is "none."

Afghanistan.

Since Indian Mohammedanism came very largely from and through Afghanistan, a glance may be taken at that country before turning to India. Dr Pennell's recent book² describes in a wonderful way

¹ Tunis bears to France the relation of Egypt to Britain: Algiers, that of India.

² See especially Chap. IX.

what Mohammedanism means in this country. The religious fervour of the Afghans is evident to all who are at all acquainted with them, whether in their mountain homes, or travelling in India. The mullahs have a great influence on the life of the people, though it has been truly said that there is no priesthood in Islam. There is no act of worship and no religious rite, which may not in the absence of a mullah be equally well performed by any pious layman; on the other hand the power of the mullahs sometimes appears greater than that of the throne itself. For one thing knowledge has been almost limited to the priestly class; for another, the Afghan is a Mohammedan to the backbone, so that the mullah becomes the embodiment of all that is most national and sacred. They too are the ultimate dispensers of justice, and the only two legal appeals in Afghanistan are, one to the theological law as laid down by Mohammed and interpreted by the mullahs, the other to the autocracy of the throne, and even the absolute Amir would hesitate to give an order at variance with that of the leading mullahs.

India reform
movement.

The conditions in India being more complex, the drawing of conclusions becomes more precarious. In recent times there has unquestionably been a great improvement in some parts of Indian Moslem society.

The fact, however, remains that the condition of Moslems in India, apart from these reforming movements, is described by competent observers in very much the same terms as in the countries we have already surveyed. At the last census 95 per cent¹ were still illiterate; and nowhere in all India was more unenlightened and heartless opposition shown to the humane and merciful plague regulations than by Mohammedans, headed and directed by the mullahs. So that before we come to discuss Indian reform movements, it must be very distinctly understood that such movements affect only a very small *fraction of the Moslem community*.

On the other hand, just as we noted in our survey of Turkey and Far-Western Islam, so in India there is testimony that the religion seems to give there a force of character and morale that often makes its

¹ Of the women 99½ per cent.

adherents worthy of admiration as men, and very strong when converted to Christ. There is clearly that in Islam which makes for strength and for steadfastness.

So great was the opposition of the **Seyyid Ahmad**. mullahs and their people to the educational system established by the British, that the whole community speedily fell decidedly behind that of the Hindus in knowledge, enlightenment, and consequently in influence. A natural reaction followed, initiated and headed by Sir Seyyid Ahmad. Born in 1817, this man had opportunities all his life of observing and studying western thought, life, and manners; and on his return from a visit to England at the age of fifty-three, he set himself to reform his fellow religionists in India. He energetically opposed fatalism, preached the doctrine of "God helps those who help themselves," enthusiastically promoted education, founded a liberal college at Aligarh, which was to be English except in religion, and in 1886 set on foot an annual Educational Conference for the Moslems of India. "Leave us our God. In all else make us English," were the words of a well-known Moslem author to a Principal of

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Aligarh College. Great success has attended those vigorous measures; the Moslems are making up the ground lost in the race with the Hindus, and the results produced by the college appear to be excellent. Moreover, the very fact that Mohammedans are in a minority in India has made them favourable to the English, and has thus tended to blunt and soften the usual qualities of intolerance, pride, and fanaticism, and to encourage the more humane characteristics of loyalty and goodwill. Thus has been produced an altogether more sympathetic quality of character than we meet with anywhere else in the House of Islam. Something akin to this is being now witnessed in Turkey. Only the other day (1908) a proposal was mooted in a Turkish journal, and favourably received for an *entente* between liberal Moslem nations under the ægis of Britain!

Comparison of
eastern and
western
reformers.

How do the reforming ideas of these Ahmadis differ from the typical reformers of Western Islam? ¹ Perhaps the difference may be thus expressed; the Western reformer always goes back to the *letter* of the Korân, the Indian to what he believes to be

¹ See pp. 198, 199.

its *spirit*. The difference is profound. The Indian reformers, introducing, as they do, a rationalising spirit, treat the Korân itself with freedom, and thus are at liberty to read *into it* almost everything they have come to like, and *out of it* almost everything they have come to dislike. A rationalising doctrine of Inspiration has made it possible for them to treat the Korân with something like criticism, at the same time according to the Bible a much greater degree of respect than it obtains elsewhere in the Moslem world. Objectionable elements in the former, such as the Veil, polygamy, and divorce, can be explained away:—“they were occasional, not eternal commands; look deeper into them and you shall see that in reality the *freedom* of women, *monogamy*, and the *permanence* of marriage were intended.”¹ But already we hear of strong reaction against these views on the part of the orthodox in India. In El Azhar and Egypt and the West generally they would be accounted unorthodoxy, infidelity. And the very fact that the school has been called (though absurdly), and allows itself to be called,

¹ See “Spirit of Islam,” by Ameer Ali.

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Mu'tazilite, after the free-thinking sect of Abbaside Islam, is significant of the probable fate in store for it ; for the original Mu'tazilite school of thought became almost the most hopelessly discredited of all the sects known to Mohammedan history, and utterly perished after, on the whole, an inglorious career.

The East
Indies.

Before leaving the east, let us glance at the effect of Islam on the East Indian Islands, where its spread has been so unmilitary and legitimate. Mohammedanism has, in the case of these islanders, brought them *out* of isolation. Trade and the pilgrimage have brought them into some sort of connection with the outside world : Islam has opened to them careers in other lands ; it has enabled them to emigrate with some success. On the whole, however, the religion has appeared to make comparatively little difference one way or the other. It has, it is true, stopped cannibalism in Sumatra ; but it has distinctly lowered the position of women by its sex regulations. The returned Meccan pilgrims are particularly given to indulge in divorces. Sooner or later these defects must more than neutral-

ise any improvements introduced, and we may be indeed thankful that side by side with this downward tendency there is the upward tendency of a strong and increasing Christian missionary Church.

The materials for studying the effect of **China.** Islam upon China can hardly be said to exist. But as far as can be made out the results are very neutral: that is to say, the Chinese Moslems owe much more to their Confucian Chinese environment than to their somewhat vague uninformed Mohammedanism. They fall in with the custom of the country much more than in other lands, probably because of the terrible massacres of Mohammedans which have taken place from time to time, when any attempt has been made by the Moslems to stand out against Chinese ways.

We have already seen what enormous **Africa—** tracts of country, what millions of people, **Negro Islam.** how many races, nations, and tribes are embraced under negro Islam. Nevertheless a striking unity marks the accounts of those who, from Sierra Leone to Zanzibar, describe to us the effect of Islam

on the negro. Everywhere one finds that a rise is spoken of up to a certain level; a dead stop at that level—a low one after all; a hardening; and then the inner deterioration that comes to those who, contented with a low ideal, become the enemies of a higher one.

**Effects of
Mohammedan-
ism on heathen
villages.**

Take the better side first. T. W. Arnold, in his "Preaching of Islam," notes or quotes the contrast drawn by a traveller, between heathenism and Islam in Nigeria; how for the first few scores of leagues nothing greets his eyes but the utter squalid wretchedness, dirt, and degradation of heathenism; everything seems repulsive and hopeless. Then a change comes over the scene, and he finds himself among negroes decently and cleanly clad and in their right mind, conducting their affairs in a seemly and dignified manner. There is the village mosque, the mullah, the mosque-school, the teaching of reading and writing. . . . It is no matter for surprise that such striking contrasts as these impress the European traveller and official, and incline him to very favourable judgments of Islam as a social regenerator — and doubtless to this extent rightly so. Such men argue

that Islam with its calculated licenses and restraints just fits the negro nature, utterly unable as it is to make anything but a botch of the more idealistic religion of Christ's Spirit. So Dr Blyden, Canon Isaac Taylor; and, to the same effect, T. W. Arnold. Of course, were the negro utterly incapable of rising to anything higher than the mediocre ideal of Islam, it might be arguable that it is dangerous to trouble him with anything more elevated. But if this is *not* the case, we may well ask of these gentlemen the stern question, "Is it not, on the contrary, dangerous to consign negro Africa to an unprogressive system, and to discourage the effort to give it what will never let it rest from aiming higher?" Such a policy is only storing up still greater dangers a little way ahead.

The Hausas, whose home is the vast Hausaland. territory between the Niger and Lake Chad, are, for Africans, a civilised nation. They have walled cities, they have a great language, they have arts and crafts. How far Islam has had any permanent elevating effect on these people may be gathered from the opinion of a highly competent

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observer, a man who knows the Hausas better than any other man alive.¹

The Hausa People.

“The thing which seems to strike all of us in these West African Mohammedan lands is the utter lack of all sincerity in religious matters, undoubtedly inbred, and due to the constant witnessing of open profligacy of the worst type, associated with all the forms and ceremonies of a religious code. By far the commonest word in use in the Hausa language (I should say almost three to one of any other), and the least understood, is the word ‘Allah!’

(a) Childhood.

“I have seen in eight years,—a *childhood* bereft of all the real features of childhood, love, trust, and innocence.

(b) Womanhood.

“A *womanhood* for the most part demoralised, and having no more of a true woman’s instinct towards her partner in life than the ordinary hen has to the last cock she met in the farmyard.

(c) Teachers.

“A *class of teachers* and instructors, reduced to the level of toadying to a vicious and tyrannical ruling class, robbing the people they ought to protect; cheating them in their ignorance in order to perpetuate in them that ignorance the more to cheat them. A class for whom nearly all respect is dead,—legitimizers of sin and profitters thereby.

(d) Rulers.

“A *ruling class* given to plunder, and whose only feelings toward the other classes are those of the wool-gatherer towards the sheep,—to fleece.

(e) People.

“A *people* sunk into indifference to sin, with an outward adhesion to religion, total distrust of each

¹ Dr Walter Miller, whom the writer thanks for his valuable contribution on this point.

other, a feudal state containing all the extremest and worst forms of egotism, with no altruism whatever; I have never seen, until I came here, all ideas of altruism laughed at as being mad and foolish; probably this is the last and most deadly blow which Islam deals at a race. The land teems with mendicants eating up what the priests and rulers leave; the last locusts to prey on the already lean fields!

"Here are four remarks which were made to me, and they may be taken to be fairly typical of the standard represented in this country, not by one, but by all classes, towards such ideas as friendship, chivalry, loyalty, and patriotism.

"(a) 'Do you think any man would be such a fool as to let himself get killed or even hurt for the sake of his wife? Why, if he could protect her and get off himself too, of course he would do it, but not else.'

"(b) 'What should I do? why, run away of course! If my friend is already down, I am not going to stay and let the hyena eat both me and him; what's the use of two people running a risk?'

"(c) 'Go into captivity with the Emir when he is deposed? Why, he's got nothing more he can give me, what's the use of being with him?'

"(d) 'Oh we don't mind the white man ruling our country, it's all the same to us as long as we get plenty to eat!' (Heathen don't talk like this, they will fight to the bitter end for their country.)

"I believe these things to be not accidental, but, if not entirely caused, at least largely accentuated by Islam. The population, from all the records we have, can hardly be more than one-third what it was fifty years ago. . . . Polygamy, slavery, disease! all due to Islam.

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“One thing seems to me true above all else in this great question. It is our Cabinet, our Foreign Secretaries, our officials, our senior and junior members of the services, who need educating. Their blindness as to what Islam is, and ever will be, is paralysing. They will patronise the reactionary fakir and moulvi and his wily class. They always imagine Islam is loyal and should be protected from the missionary.”

East Africa.

In East Africa the evidence is in many respects less favourable than in West Africa.

Among a large choice we take the testimony of a witness as well accredited to speak of the East as the first one was to speak of the West: a man, however, who is quick, and anxious to recognise whatever is of good report in the religion and people around him.¹

“The bad features of Islam, traceable to the religion, original or traditional, seem to me to be as follows:—

“(1) The evil attitude of the Moslem to the other sex. Divorce here is appallingly prevalent. There is an immense amount of sexual immorality. . . .

“(2) An absence of the *moral* sense, especially with regard to speaking the truth. . . . To what source are we to trace their permanent habit of lying? Only to the Traditions. The story of the night-journey with its tremendous traditional develop-

¹ Canon Godfrey Dale, of the Universities' Mission, whom also the writer thanks for his contribution.

ments, of Mohammed's death, with its traditional developments, etc. etc., are devoutly believed here. Imagine the systematic habit of lying foisted on to the African character, and you will understand what I say—that I have found a kind of impregnable incapacity to see where the truth lies, even when it consists of patent historical facts, proved up to the hilt.

“(3) What follows from an absence of a sense of truth, and defective moral sense,—an incapacity to grasp the true notion of the holiness of God. The gods whom men serve write their names on their foreheads. That is why we find an absence of truth, justice, and purity. They are largely non-existent, because of an immoral doctrine of forgiveness and predestination.

“(4) Formalism, externalism, materialism of a most pronounced kind, the exact opposite of the spirit of love, of power, and of a wholesome mind.

“(5) Absence of the spirit of self-sacrifice,—the prevalence of slavery is a fruit of this. How far did the Arab raids into Africa for slaves differ from Mohammed's divinely sanctioned raids on caravans from Mecca on Arab tribes, and on the unfortunate Jews?

“The strong points of Islam in East Africa seem to me to be these :—

“(1) The Moslem knows the country and people, lives in the very midst of them, and is always on the spot. He can live as they do, mix with them freely, without any obvious racial contrast.

“(2) His habit of attaching the idea of God to the principal events of every-day life. It is difficult to estimate the effect on the African mind of pro-

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nouncing the name of God over the food he eats. The name of God is associated with every meal, a very important fact in dealing with the natural man in a heathen state, who talks and thinks much of *food*."

And with this we close our survey. It has been an honest attempt to set forth the present state of the House of Islam, and as far as possible to trace characteristic effects to inherent causes. And we now have displayed before us the positions which the Church of Christ has to attack; nay, say rather, the peoples whom the Spirit of Christ is to save.

QUESTIONS FOR CHAPTER V

1. Describe the present condition of Arabia, and the causes which seem to have led to this condition.
2. Relate Mohammedanism to the movements for constitutional liberty in the Turkish Empire, Persia, and Egypt. What facts of history throw light on the present position?
3. Contrast the position of woman in Mohammedan lands with her position in the West. Explain the fact that many Moslem women do not wish the customs to be changed.
4. What position do the mullahs hold in Afghanistan? To what do you attribute their power?
5. Compare the reforming ideas of the Ahmadis and certain of the young Turks with those of such typical western reformers as Mohammed Abdu.
6. What answer can be given to the argument that in negro Africa Mohammedanism is a half-way



MOSLEM LAWYERS



GROUP OF MULLAHS

house to Christianity, and suited to the negro nature? Base your answer on stated facts.

7. How far is the slave-trade based on Islamic principles? In what Mohammedan lands and under what forms is it still carried on?

8. What is the significance of the Mecca pilgrimage? To what extent is it a means of spreading Mohammedanism?

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CHAPTER VI

HOW SAVE IT ?

(1) *The Past*

Summary.

THRICE have we already traversed the vast Mohammedan world, the House of Islam. Each time it has been with a somewhat different intent, and from a somewhat different starting-point. Has its bewildering extent and diversity begun to shape itself to our mind as a *whole* ? And if so, have we then begun to realise that this whole constitutes a distinguishable but tremendous problem ?

Three more voyages still remain for us to make before our task is done, corresponding to the three we have already completed. For hitherto we have been moving wholly under the Crescent. But from now "the Cross is in the Field." The gigantic problem has shaped itself, and the question before us is, "How is that Cross to be given the victory ? How is He to be lifted up and draw all these unto Him ?

Islam—How save it?” These first five chapters have not done their work unless they leave us exclaiming with salutary despair, “IMPOSSIBLE”! The next three will be failures unless we close them calmly saying, “POSSIBLE.”

And the three voyages of discovery of the past compared with the three missionary journeys that await us, have a symmetry which is significant. In Chapter III. we reviewed the deeds of Islam in the past;—how it came to its present position in these great lands;—in this chapter we shall review the deeds of Christ’s Church in the *past*, and how it came to its present position in these same lands. In Chapter V. we surveyed the *present*—how Islam works to-day in the House of Islam:—in Chapter VII. we shall also study the *present*—how the Church of Christ is working to-day in that House. And then the last chapter shall give its reply to the first;—the first vision of the extent of the need shall be met by a last vision of the need answered, as we look forward to the time when “the kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord and of His Christ, and He shall reign for ever and ever.”

Early Christian
efforts.

How does Christianity compare with Islam? Instead of the steady, ordered, rapid, and resistless march of the latter, we have a history of effort that was first feeble to the point of non-existence, then mistaken, individual, and fitful; often, indeed, and for long, utterly eclipsed; and that only in recent times has shown signs of stability, and unity, and purpose. We have seen the weak and degenerate state of the Church of both East and West at the time of the rising of the Crescent. The extraordinary successes of the "Saracens" seemed utterly to paralyse the missionary spirit of the Church. At that time there *was* missionary spirit in the West, for did not the centuries from that of the Higua onwards see the evangelisation of the whole of Northern Europe, a work that bears a roll of missionary names as great as the greatest—St Aidan of Lindisfarne (died 651), St Augustine, Boniface, the Apostle of Germany (715-755), Anskar, often known as the Apostle of the North (ninth century), and a host of less well-known men.

Nevertheless it was not to the Sara-

cens that these men went. For whatever reason, the fact remains that until Henry Martyn landed in India, in 1806, the history of the effort of Christendom for the saving of Islam is represented by just one or two heroic but isolated names; and by one great movement, the Crusades, which was not so much for the saving as for the destruction of Islam.

In the century after Mohammed, John Damascene,¹ who held high office under the Saracen Caliph of Damascus, at least studied Islam and attacked it in his writings. A section of a larger work by him is on "the superstition of the Ishmaelites," and there are also remaining two short dialogues or disputations between a Christian and a Saracen. Such disputations are going on still to-day.

Following John Damascene comes the Apology of Al Kindi.² "It is related that in the time of Abdallah al Ma'mûn, there lived a man of Hâshimite descent and of Abbaside lineage, nearly related to the Caliph. The same was famed among high

John Damas-
cene, died circa
754.

Apology of A
Kindi, circa
A. D. 830.

¹ Best known to the non-theologian by his popular hymn, "Those eternal bowers," translated from his Greek.

² Apology of Al Kindi (c. 830). From Muir's introduction, p. 14.

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and low for devotion to Islam and for the careful observance of all its ordinances. . . . This person had a friend, learned and virtuous, endowed with the gifts of culture and science, of pure and noble descent, and distinguished for his attachment to the Christian Faith. . . . The Hâshimite wrote to the Christian a letter. . . . He reminds his friend that he, though a Mohammedan, is himself versed in the Scriptures and in the practices and doctrines of the various Christian sects, and he then proceeds to explain the teaching of Islam and to press its acceptance on him. He begs of his friend to reply without fear or favour. . . . The Moslem's letter occupies only 23 of 165 pages—Al Kindi's reply 142.

“While our Apologist speaks respectfully of the person of Mohammed, he vigorously denounces his claims as a prophet, and attacks the whole system of Islam with uncompromising severity. The latter part of the Apology is devoted to the proofs of Christianity, and to our Saviour's Life and Teaching.”

John Damascene and Al Kindi, though their efforts were individual and unsup-

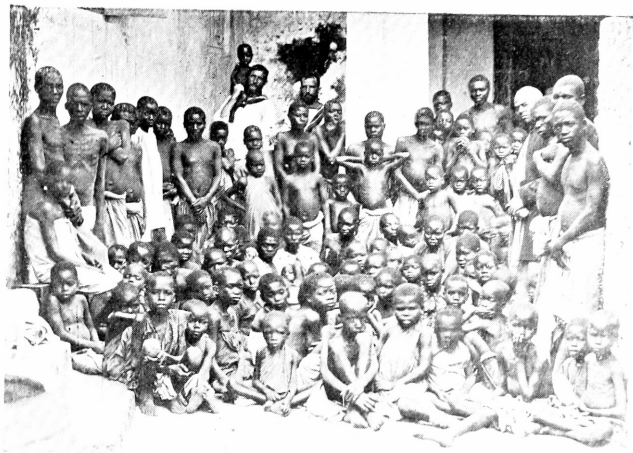
ported, pointed the way to a method which even to-day needs many more to work it out—the patient study of Islam itself, its language, literature and thought, and the publication of works, apologetic and aggressive, calculated to win its followers.

The centuries passed. In the twelfth, The Crusades. Christendom made its greatest effort—the Crusades. The Crusaders came against Islam with the sword, but not with the Sword of the Spirit ; with the Cross on their shields, but not dominating their souls. Rivers of blood flowed, prodigies of valour were displayed, but what was effected ? It may be that the Crusaders had their place in the providential scheme—occupying the attention of the Moslems while Europe was very slowly passing from weakness to strength, was very slowly becoming conscious of herself. But from a religious point of view the result of the growth was yet further to embitter the relation between Christian and Moslem, and to obscure the true spiritual issue that the Moslem problem really presented and presents. Church and State were one, and the strong arm of Cæsar was wielding his sword on behalf of the Church, while she

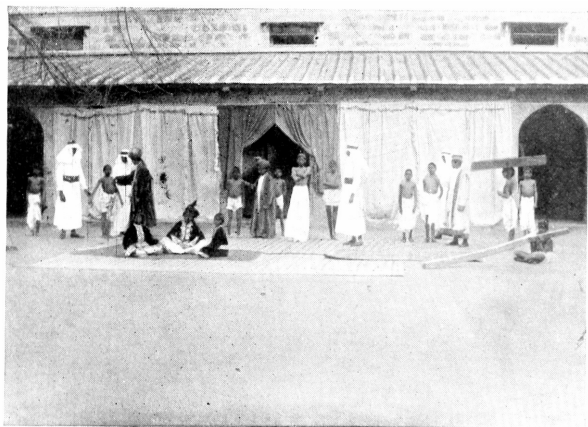
on her part but feebly used the sword of the Spirit.

Petrus Venerabilis, died 1157.

Yet in those very days some few isolated individuals perceived that Islam could not be cured by any remedy so homeopathic as force. Petrus Venerabilis, the Benedictine Abbot of Clugny (d. 1157), studied Islam with sympathy and scholarship. He was the first to translate the Korân into any European language, and he pleaded for the translation of Scripture into Arabic. He wrote controversial books, and declared his regret that he could not contend in person against Islam. He urged that Christianity *must* for its own life "defend itself against Mohammedan attacks and win Moslems by our proof of the truth." Another word of his:—"Whether Mohammed's error is denounced as heresy, or as pagan, or heathen, we must oppose it by our pens, we must oppose it by our deeds." He condemns the Crusade as a failure, and in the very spirit of Raymund Lull said: "I come to win the Moslem not as people oft do with arms, but with words: not by force, but by reason: not in hatred, but in love." These are brave and great sayings.



RELEASED SLAVES



SLAVE-MARKET, ZANZIBAR
ARABS, PURCHASERS, AND SLAVES

"Sweet St Francis of Assisi," he too, St Francis of Assisi, 1182-1226. through the Spirit of Christ that was in him, yearned after the Saracen who knew not his Lord. It sounds more like the romance of one of his own miracles than sober missionary reality to read how in 1219 he suddenly broke away from his marvellous work in Italy, and sailed to Egypt, and met there the Sultan of Egypt, El Kâmil—face to face. A contemporary notice of this spiritual exploit is given in a letter by a Crusader:—

"Having come into our army he has not been afraid in his zeal for the faith to go to that of our enemies. For days together he announced the Word of God to the Saracens, but with little success; then the Sultan, King of Egypt, asked him in secret to entreat God to reveal to him by some miracle which is the best religion."

Raymund Lull is the real miracle of Raymund Lull, 1235-1315. mediæval Christendom in relation to Islam. A missionary after the order of Melchisedek :—without ancestry—alas! without posterity. Without forerunner before him, or support during his life, or followers to carry on his work or work out his glowing ideas, he resembles a brilliant meteor that flashes through the midnight sky, only to emphasise the darkness that preceded, the darkness that immediately followed.

- (a) **Early years.** Lull was born in the island of Majorca in 1235, and grew up under the shadow of the disappointment and depression of the failure of the first Crusades. Nor was the fact that his father had helped in the victorious movement against the Saracens in the West calculated to sweeten the family feeling in regard to them. The first thirty years of Lull's life were passed in the island of his birth, and in Spain at the court of James II., King of Aragon. His history strongly reminds us of Francis of Assisi and of Zinzendorf. Each of them was popular in the world, a lover of pleasure rather than a lover of God. . . . And then to each of them came in youth the appealing vision of the Crucified, and each of them was obedient to the heavenly vision, and bore on the whole of his remaining life the stigmata of His Cross. Raymund Lull had everything this world could give him : brilliant, versatile, splendidly successful ; knight, poet, musician, scholar, philosopher, nobleman, courtier, gallant ;—what lacked he yet ? The answer came when, in the midst of composing a love-ballad, troubadour-like, he saw a vision of Christ Crucified, thrice

repeated. Henceforth he renounced his careless, sensual life, and dedicated those nobler powers of which that life had all along been unworthy. Henceforth his motto became, "He that loves not, lives not, and he that lives by the Life cannot die." This, then, is the first thing that distinguishes Lull from many of his time:—his religion was a passionate personal faith, inwrought in him by a direct personal conversion through the Spirit of Christ.

From now onward his actions have a quality and are wrought on a scale that are almost incredible. He began by a period of retirement and solitary study that lasted nine years! That, perhaps, was quite in keeping with his time: but the resolution formed then, takes him out of his time altogether, and sets him, in reality, alongside of Henry Martyn more than half a millennium later. It was the resolution to dedicate his life to the evangelisation of Islam.

Did we half say that Francis of Assisi's going to Egypt and facing its Sultan at Damietta was a pious extravaganza, profitless, hair-brained? How we judge by immediate results! But occasionally God

makes visible for a moment the unseen substratum of moral cause and effect, and opens our blind eyes that they may see. For behold it was that extravaganza, as beautiful, sad, and simple as a child's, which when recounted by a Franciscan monk to Raymund Lull inspired the young Majorcan nobleman with *the decision to be a missionary to Islam!* Is the chain of this apostolic succession terminated? or is the recounting of Lull's life once more to cause his isolated life-deed to bring forth, at last, its late fruit?

Lull's decision was unheard of, undreamed of. The Saracens were loathed as the conquerors in the East, hated as the partially vanquished in the West. The attitude of the whole Church towards Islam then was the attitude of a great part of the Church towards Islam to-day—" *Let it alone.*" And Lull's first claim to undying memory is that alone and unaided, this son of the Crusades formulated the duty of the Church towards Islam, with a clearness that is absolutely unsurpassable, thus :—

"I see many knights going to the Holy Land beyond the seas, and thinking that they can ac-

quire it by force of arms: but in the end all are destroyed before they attain that which they think to have. Whence it seems to me that the conquest of the Holy Land ought not to be attempted except in *the way in which Thou and Thine Apostles acquired it, namely, by love and prayers and the pouring out of tears and blood.*"

This one sentence is enough to place Lull in the front of the greatest missionary-saints the world has ever seen.

"Language study" has a familiar ring to the modern missionary. Lull set an unsurpassed standard in the matter of language study. *Then* there were no grammars, dictionaries, ready-made language teachers, and the rest; what should he do? He was driven to purchase a Moslem slave (he must have been a highly educated one), and with his aid studied the Arabic language—for nine years!

During these nine years he was also engaged on one of the most celebrated works of mediæval philosophy—for which, indeed, in some quarters his name is alone known, in its Latinised form of Lully (*Lullius*). It is, in fact, one of the many pathetic things about this great hero that to this day in the philosophical schools of Oxford, Cambridge, and the Continent, his name

(b) Language study.

(c) Literary work.

is merely connected with an exploded system of scholastic philosophy. And the pathos is increased when one learns the reason for which he composed that work. It was wholly and entirely a means of forwarding the one end of his whole life—the convincing of the Moslems of Christian truth. Like Bacon's *Novum Organum*, Lull's *Ars Major* was to be an infallible key—not, however, to the truths of nature, but to the truths of God. To-day the book is dead, dead with the whole scholastic system which gave it birth : in its day, however, it may well have served its definite purpose, for the philosophical thought of Islam in those days was as scholastic and Aristotelian as that of Christendom. Nevertheless to us there is an eternal lesson to be learned from the writer of *Ars Major*,—that the presentation of Christian truth and the cause of missions in general, and missions to Moslems in particular, are worthy of the highest talent, and the highest creative effort that our educational system can produce. We learn, too, what is hardly sufficiently recognised to-day, that home-work and foreign-work are one, and that in the domain of theological research itself the

impact of one on the other ought to lead to creative work. For *Ars Major* was not composed for Moslem missions alone, but for the whole Church, a system by which every thinking man might arrive at the truth. When *Ars Major* was finished, Lull began to lecture on it in public. His aim was two-fold,—to strengthen the “home Church” in itself, and to awaken it to the duty and possibility of Moslem evangelisation. The latter idea became a passion with him. Forerunner of those who, from Charles Simeon to our own day, have seen the importance of winning the Universities, he persuaded the king to found and endow a monastery which should be simply a Missionary College. He tried to organise other Missionary Colleges in different parts of the country. He lectured at the Universities, he interviewed Kings and Church leaders, and stood before Church Councils and Assemblies, and was not ashamed. For his object was, in his own words, “to gain over the shepherds of the Church and the princes of Europe.” He went to the highest in the Church; he appealed to the Pope to help the Foreign Missionary movement. But the great man

(d) Influence on home Church.

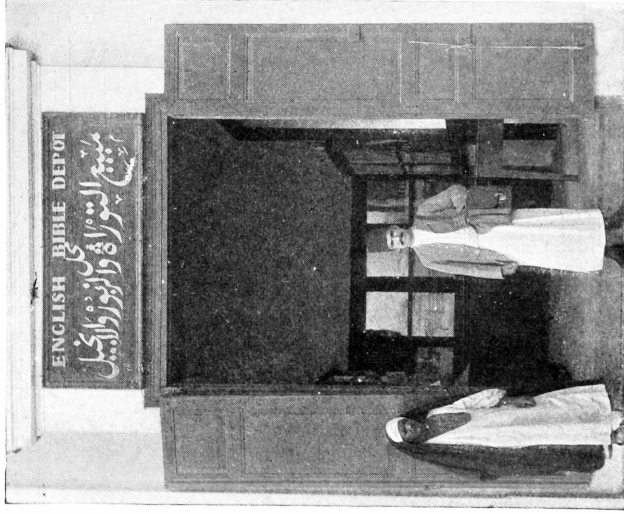
was not worthy; and the leaders of the Church had more "important" things to do. How do those "important" things look to-day?

But Lull's whole soul was in the idea. He says :

"I had a wife and children; I was tolerably rich; I led a secular life. All these things I cheerfully resigned for the sake of promoting the common good, and diffusing abroad the common faith. I learned Arabic. I have several times gone abroad to preach the Gospel to the Saracens. I have for the sake of the faith been cast into prison and scourged. *I have laboured for forty-five years to gain over the shepherds of the Church, and the princes of Europe to the common good of Christendom.* Now I am old and poor, but still I am intent on the same object. I will persevere in it till death, if the Lord permits it."

And then the wonderful insight of his plans for the curriculum of these Colleges! It included, of course, a thorough training in theology: but not only so, in philosophy also, in Arabic language and literature, and in the *geography of Missions*. The very germ of the present Missionary Study scheme is in this last idea. He wrote, and his words could not be improved on to-day:—

"Knowledge of the regions of the world is strongly necessary for the republic of believers and



COLPORTEUR AND BOOK DEPOT



TRAVELLING PHARMACY

the conversion of unbelievers, and for withstanding infidels and antichrists. The man unacquainted with geography is ignorant where he walks or whither he leads. Whether he attempts the conversion of infidels, or works for other interests of the Church, it is indispensable that he know the religion and environment of all nations."

Yet the man was alone! His inspired suggestions were not taken up; his appeals, with all their character of intrinsic *greatness*, were unheeded. Hear him once more. The words have the ring of an Augustine—nay, is there not something in them greater than even Augustine?—

"I find scarcely anyone, O Lord, who out of love to Thee is ready to suffer martyrdom, as Thou hast suffered for us. It appears to me agreeable to reason, if an ordinance to that effect could be obtained, that Thy monks should learn various languages, that they might be able to go out and surrender their lives in love to Thee. . . . O Lord of Glory, if that blessed day should ever be, in which I might see Thy holy monks so influenced by zeal to glorify Thee, as to go to foreign lands in order to testify of Thy holy ministry, of Thy blessed Incarnation, and of Thy bitter sufferings, that would be a glorious day, a day in which that flow of devotion would return with which the holy apostles met death for their Lord Jesus Christ."

Nobly did he make good his word. At the age of *seventy-five*, after returning from

terrible labours in North Africa, he actually "conceived the idea of founding an order of spiritual knights who should be ready to preach to the Saracens, and to recover the tomb of Christ by a crusade of love."¹ This at a time when the Pope and Councils of the Church were trying to work up another Crusade of the old type! Yet some religious Genoese noblemen and ladies of rank had offered to contribute 30,000 gilders for the enterprise, and one word of encouragement from Pope Clement V., or the General Council of Paris, might have set on foot a spiritual and missionary movement, a Roman Church Missionary Society, with incalculable results. But that word was not spoken. For the thousandth time the first things were put last and the last first. The leaders of the Church did not lead—nor even follow; and the dauntless old man, now in his seventy-ninth year, *went back* to North Africa, disdaining the idea of rest or retirement, to win there a martyr's crown. But this is anticipating.

(e) Among the Moslems.

It is among the many marks of Lull's first-rate greatness that his mighty purpose

¹ Zwemer, "Raymond Lull," p. 76.

never flagged, not even under the depression of ill-success, want of support, nor increasing years. How many men are capable of starting an arduous quest at four years less than sixty? Yet it was at this age that Lull calmly determined to teach by his example what the Church refused to learn from his precept, and to drive home the duty of missionary effort by sailing for Moslem North Africa. And that in the very year of the fall of Acre, which rang the death-knell of Christian authority in Palestine, and must have sent a thrill of fierce, intolerant exultation mingled with hate and contempt through the whole of the Moslem world! He set out *alone*, with the eyes of all Genoa curiously fixed upon him. He was like the man who, having constructed an elaborate flying machine, came to the day when he had before all men to adventure his life in it himself. Then it was that the thought of the dreadful life and perhaps death that awaited him in Africa drowned every other consideration. . . . He faltered! and his ship sailed without its passenger. . . . Knowing what Lull was, we get the most thrilling insight through this one simple fact into the awful

nature of the task this man had set himself, and into that man's own heart. The agony of his soul oppressed his body, out of measure, even unto death, so much so that his friends carried him away from a second ship in which he had embarked, certain that his life could not last out the voyage. News of yet a third ship was brought, and he finally determined to push forward. From that moment he tells us he "was a new man." Peace came to his agonised spirit, and, with it, health to his body. The ship sailed, and Lull was aboard.

In Tunis for two years he disputed, made and shepherded converts, was imprisoned, sentenced to death, and finally banished. In Majorca and Cyprus he preached to Jews as well as Moslems, in Armenia for a year he laboured among the Nestorians. Returning to North Africa, at Bugia in Algeria he disputed for a year and a half, again made a circle of converts, and again was thrown into a dungeon, and plied, this time, with worldly temptations for six months and urged to apostatise. Finally he was deported with ignominy, and ship-wrecked on the coast of Italy. Last of all, when he saw that he had done all, and that henceforth

there was only left for him the departing from this life, he returned to Bugia, where he encouraged his converts for one whole year in seclusion, finally coming boldly forth, the old hero of eighty years of age ! He faced the raging mob with the world behind his back, and his face as of a man who pleads with souls, till they dragged him, like Stephen, outside the city-wall, and there stoned him to death. He had fought the good fight, he had finished his course, he had kept the faith, he had gained the martyr's crown. Who follows in his train ?

We have seen how supremely great Lull (f) **His methods.** was in respect of his missionary *ideals*. In two respects was he also supremely great in respect of his *methods*, judged by the most modern standard ;—in the use of the hardest and most exacting method of all, controversy, both private *and public*, and in his manner of presenting the truth. In regard to the first, prophetic fire and love must have been joined to the supreme ability given by absolute command of language or subject, for we know that, like Pfander in the Punjab, he made converts by his disputations. In regard to the second

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point, though he did not neglect the comparatively easy task of criticising the prophet of Islam, he concentrated all his religious, theological, and philosophical acumen on showing the hopeless inadequacy of its conception of God. And his negative criticism is accompanied by a glowing positive teaching on the philosophy of distinctively Christian truth, which is expounded with a vitality and vigour that raise a doubt whether even now missionary thought itself has quite absorbed all that is contained in it.

(g) His apostolic life.

In an age when the Moslem was hated and fought with, he loved him and sought to win him. In an age when the Jew was spitted upon, he, as though the former task were not big enough for his great heart, preached to him and strove to gain him. In an age of strife when the Spirit of Christ and of love was little experienced, this man lived a life which was one long martyrdom of service for men in the power of the love of the Father and of the Spirit of His Son.

The glorious Company of the Apostles praise Thee,
The goodly Fellowship of the Prophets praise Thee.
The Noble Army of Martyrs praise Thee.

Even so. Amen.

Lull was martyred in 1315. The meteor disappeared, the night remained.

Until the dawn of the modern movement in the eighteenth century the greatest heroes of foreign missions in the interval were undoubtedly the Jesuits, whose deeds and terrible sufferings for the cause are all too little known or recognised or praised. Their great and typical representative missionary is Francis Xavier, and this extraordinary man, who evangelised in India and in Japan, and died in a transport of longing to enter the Great Closed Land, China, did not ignore the Mohammedan question, as though not to leave so much as *one* of the Giants Despair of missionary effort unattacked. He was hardly less thorough or less brave than Lull; for he studied for twelve years, wrote a most able apology, and held many disputations with Mohammedan mullahs in India, defending every point of Christian doctrine and exposing the error of the Mohammedan position. And he only quitted this work to go on in the very spirit of heroism to Japan and to China, and to lay down his life off the coast of the latter, pressing on,

The Jesuits :
Francis Xavier,
died 1552.

even to the end. Who follows in his train ?

Henry Martyn,
1781-1812.

It makes one realise how utterly this vast problem has been neglected when we find ourselves obliged, after Xavier, to make another leap, this time of two hundred years. This brings us to the third great name, for learning, intensity, and burning faith and love, worthy to stand beside the other two—Henry Martyn. With him the modern enterprise really begins—the others were but voices in the wilderness ; but after Martyn, the work, that he laid down in death at the age of thirty-one, was soon caught up by Pfander and others, and since then it has been carried on uninterruptedly with slowly increasing momentum. Martyn's life, except in respect of its shortness, reminds us indeed at every point of his great predecessor Lull.

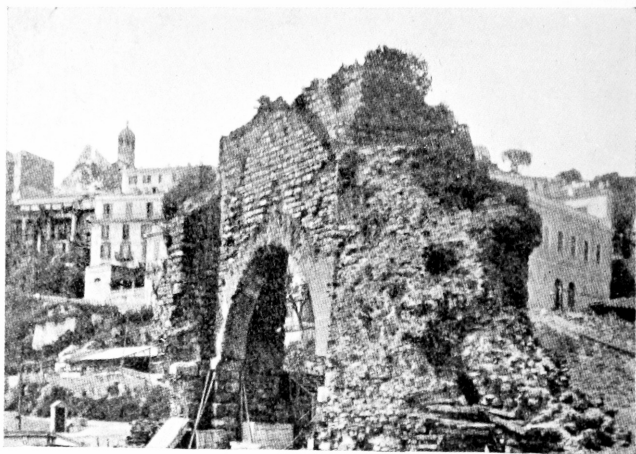
(a) His preparation.

He was Senior Wrangler at Cambridge, and subsequently studied Sanskrit, Persian, and Arabic. In the field he further developed his wonderful linguistic gift, for he learned Hindustani, a distinctively Mohammedan language, and improved his knowledge of Sanskrit, Arabic, and Persian. To his intense self-preparation in the Spirit and in

B

Alimudus senescallus mense regis maioris
 In iuuenis aduc in Campo cantilenis
 In carminibus capone die si alio lacrimis
 fuit dedit et mense. fidebat nocte
 quadam uis lectu fuit patris ad dictandu
 ex fribus in suo vulgari una cantilenar
 de quidam dicitur qua tunc amore fatus
 diligitur. fuit g cantilenar dicta mense et
 fribus. refrenens ad extens fidebat dicit
 huiusmodi canones pendentes in cruce. quo
 uis tenet preterit q habebat in manibus
 lectu fuit ut dormiret. interdu. In
 cruce vero f. gens et ad uiam tates
 felix rediens in deusione illa curabat
 pmo cito q p octo dies p pte in loco
 f. p p q. hora caute itep se apertit

FACSIMILE OF PART OF LULL'S WRITINGS



THE OLD GATEWAY OF BUGIA

With acknowledgments to Messrs Funk & Wagnall

the Word of God his journals bear the most eloquent witness.

Like St Paul he would let nothing hinder ^{(b) Work in India.} him from preaching the Gospel, impelled ever onward by the Spirit. Were missionaries not allowed by the East India Company to enter India? Then he would enter as a Chaplain—a Chaplain who intended to do missionary work! He had laid literally his all on the altar, his name and his fame, the one love of his life, his whole earthly future and his whole earthly joy, and then he could utter the famous words, “*Now let me burn out for God.*” He laboured intensely in India for five years (1806-1811), chiefly at Dinapore and Cawnpore, and he was, like Lull, given the crown of the conversion of souls.

In Martyn’s day the Bible Society was in its infancy—nay its cradle, and translations of the Scripture were still non-existent. He immediately saw that his first and chiefest effort must be directed towards remedying this defect: he therefore translated the New Testament into Hindustani, “and studied Sanscrit with a view to translating it into other Indian languages.” The Hindustani translation was completed

in March 1808, and Martyn at once set to work on a Persian version of the New Testament, and also worked hard at Arabic. His disappointment was great when, in the summer of 1810, the verdict he received from Calcutta regarding his Persian version was that it was "deemed unfit for general circulation, as it abounded with Arabic idioms, and was written in too difficult a style for the masses of the people." After prayer Martyn "instantly resolved . . . to go into Arabia and Persia, for the purpose of collecting the opinions of learned natives with respect to the Persian translation which had been rejected, as well as of the Arabic version, which was yet incomplete, though nearly finished." As he passed through Calcutta his friends were distressed at his bad health. "He is on his way to Arabia," writes one, . . . "in pursuit of health and knowledge. You know his genius, and what gigantic strides he takes in everything. He has some great plan in his mind, of which I am no competent judge; but as far as I do understand it, the object is far too grand for one short life, and much beyond his feeble and exhausted frame. . . . His complaint lies

in his lungs and appears to be an incipient consumption." . . . He himself writes : " Arabia shall hide me till I come forth with an approved New Testament in Arabic. . . . I cannot devote my life to a more important work than that of preparing the Arabic Bible."

Martyn reached Muscat in Arabia in April 1811, and on arriving at Shiraz in June, he ascertained the general correctness of the Calcutta opinion of his version of the New Testament, and at once set to work on a new translation. This was finished in February, 1812, and a Persian version of the Psalms by the middle of March. During this time Martyn took part in private and in public disputations. Of one public disputation he writes :

"I called on . . . the secretary of the Kerman-shah prince. In the court where he received me, Mirza Ibrahim was lecturing. Finding myself so near my old and respectable antagonist, I expressed a wish to see him. . . . The master consented, but some of the disciples demurred. At last, one of them observing that 'by the blessing of God on the master's conversation, I might possibly be converted,' it was agreed that I should be invited to ascend. Then it became a question where I ought to sit. Below all, would not be respectful to a

(c) Work in Persia.

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stranger; but above all the mullahs could not be tolerated. I entered, and was surprised at the numbers. The room was lined with mullahs at both sides and at the top. I was about to sit down at the door, but I was beckoned to an empty place near the top, opposite to the master, who, after the usual compliments, without further ceremony, asked me, 'what we meant by calling Christ God?' War being thus unequivocally declared, I had nothing to do but to stand upon the defensive. Mirza Ibrahim argued temperately enough, but of the rest, some were very violent and clamorous. The former asked, 'if Christ had ever called Himself God, was He the Creator or a creature?' I replied, 'The Creator.' The mullahs looked at one another. Such a confession had never before been heard among these Mohammedan doctors.

"One mullah wanted to controvert some of my illustrations, by interrogating me about the personality of Christ. To all his questions I replied by requesting the same information about his own person.

"To another, who was rather contemptuous and violent, I said, 'If you do not approve of our doctrine, will you be so good as to say what God is, according to you, that I may worship a proper object?' One said, 'The author of the universe.' 'I can form no idea from these words,' said I, 'but of a workman at work upon a vast number of materials. Is that a correct notion?' Another said, 'One who came of Himself into being.' 'So then He came,' I replied, 'out of one place into another, and before He came, He was not. Is this an abstract and refined notion?' After this no one

asked me any more questions, and for fear the dispute should be renewed, Jaffir Ali Khan carried me away."

As regards Martyn's work in Persia, his journal of Feb. 18 records :

"This is my birthday, on which I complete my thirty-first year. The Persian New Testament has been begun, and, I may say, finished in it. . . . Such a painful year I never passed; owing to the privations I have been called to on the one hand, and the spectacle before me of human depravity on the other. . . ."

In May Martyn left Shiraz for Tabriz, intending to present his translation of the New Testament to the Shah of Persia. The journey was full of difficulties and trials, and on his arrival, the presentation was not allowed. His health completely gave way, and in September, having somewhat recovered from two months of fever, he determined to return to England by way of Constantinople, facing a land journey of 1300 miles. He suffered terribly from privations, delays, and fever. The last entry in his journal is Oct. 6 :

"No horses being to be had, I had an unexpected repose. I sat in the orchard, and thought with sweet comfort and peace of my God; in solitude my company, my friend and comforter. Oh, when

(d) Last
Journey and
Death.

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shall time give place to eternity? When shall appear that new heaven and new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness? There, there shall in nowise enter in anything that defileth: none of that wickedness which has made men worse than wild beasts,—none of those corruptions which add still more to the miseries of mortality, shall be seen or heard of any more.”

Ten days later at Tokat in Armenia absolutely alone, a stranger in a strange land, he laid down his life at the age of thirty-one, a sacrifice to the plague, or to the fever which was so constant during his journey. Years before in India he had written: “Even if I should never see a native converted, God may design by my patience and continuance in the Word to encourage future missionaries.” Most richly has this word been fulfilled: few lives have proved a greater inspiration than this one with its missionary career of six years. Who follows in his train?

Pfander at
Work, 1825-65.

In the next decade the work was carried forward, though still by almost isolated individuals, Pfander in Persia, Wolff in Persia, Lovat and others in Egypt; in 1820, too, Sumatra was reached.

Pfander was a German-Swiss, who worked in Persia for twelve years, in India at

Agra and Peshawar, and later in Constantinople. He died after forty years of service.

He was the first whom circumstances enabled to write, print, and circulate a standard controversial work,—“Mizan-ul-Hakh, the Balance of the Truth.” It was written in German expressly for publication, and expressly to suit the minds of Mohammedans : by himself or by others it has been translated into nearly every language in which mission work among Moslems is done. Its effect has been very great indeed ; it has been answered and counter-answered ; it has been used to win souls ; to this day it is a standard work. It has proved the first of a whole great literature, which every year is multiplying and increasing in volume and range for the winning of Moslems to Christ.

Methods—
(a) Literature.

Pfander possessed the three great requisites for public controversy,—absolute command of the subject ; absolute command of the language-idiom, the thought-idiom, and the manner-idiom of the people with whom he spoke ; and absolute command of himself. His memorable public controversy at Agra, at which Thomas Valpy French (afterwards Bishop) was also present,

(b) Controversy.

will never be forgotten. Both sides claimed the victory of course, but two of the ablest of the Sheikhs on the Moslem side afterwards came out for Christ! names ever memorable in Moslem-missionary annals, Imâd-ud-dîn and Safdar Alî.

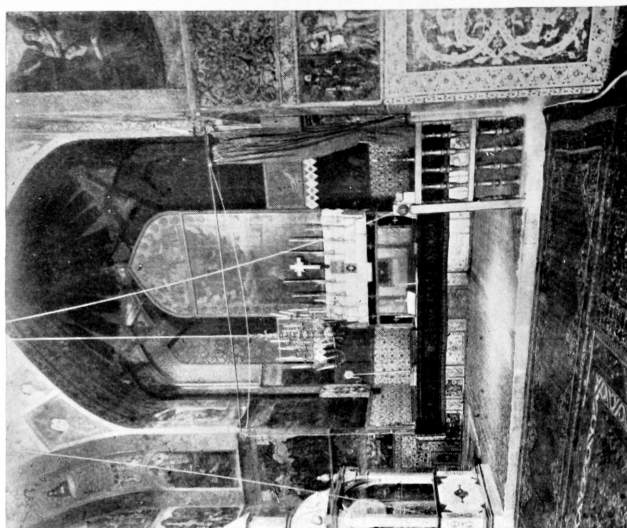
Moslem
missions,
1825-1865.

During the forty years, 1825-1865, the cause of Moslem missions had expanded, under the stress of the great nineteenth century missionary revival, far beyond the limits actually indicated by Pfander's career. Dutch Missions had spread to the *East Indies*,¹ especially Java and Sumatra. The great and wonderful expansion of Chinese missions in the period, has, at least, brought the Church face to face with Islam in *China*, and Moslems will increasingly be affected by the impact of the Gospel on the whole length and breadth of that country. In *India*, French and many others were carrying on and developing the work of Pfander; for example the S.P.G. began that work in Delhi, which, when later reinforced by the Cambridge Mission, has become one of the greatest of Moslem mission enterprises. In *Persia* there were witnesses for Christ, missionaries of the American Board, though

¹ See Chapter VII.



ARMENIAN BISHOP



ARMENIAN CATHEDRAL, JULFA, PERSIA

direct work among Moslems was for the most part begun after this period. In the Turkish Empire,—Constantinople, Asia Minor, Armenia, Syria, Palestine, and Egypt,—much Christian work was undertaken in this period, chiefly by American Presbyterian Societies, though direct and open mission work for Moslems was not yet possible—is even now not yet possible in some places. In West Africa the C.M.S. missions were already in Sierra Leone and the Niger coming into touch with the outposts of Islam,—then, alas! much more insignificant and with the main post much further away than is the case now. Lastly, in *East Africa* the pioneer work of Krapf, with his scheme of a chain of mission-stations from east to west, and the firm planting of the Universities' Mission, the C.M.S., and the Scottish missions further south were an earnest that Islam in East, and East Central Africa, would not be unopposed.

The tender shoot of the thirteenth century **Bishop French.** has become a great tree in the nineteenth;—it is manifestly impossible to follow all the ramifications in detail. One other great name, however, Valpy French, in a special

way, may be said to have been in the succession we have been tracing, for he himself wrote, "It was no small privilege I had in being the disciple of Pfander, a worthy successor of the heroic Henry Martyn."

There is, somehow, a strong family likeness between all these early giants of Moslem missions. Like those we have already studied, French was a man of the very first intellectual rank; like them, a wonderful linguist; like them and like St Paul he was ever ready to strike his moving tent and depart to the Regions Beyond, following the call of God; like them he was wonderful in controversy: finally, like ¹ them he laid down his life, alone, in the spot where he had last pitched his moving tent, a pioneer to the last, "ambitious to preach the Gospel in the regions beyond."

See then this indomitable man, the brilliant son of his University, coming out to Agra to devote himself to higher education; eating up oriental languages as though they were bread; learning Pfander's secret and winning Moslem

All except Pfander who died after being invalided home.

moulvies to Christ; passing with absolute sangfroid through the terrible time of the Mutiny, — after which he is invalided home. . . . Onward again—this time to establish a new and most important mission in the “Dirâyet” or Frontier District in the Punjab, where in spite of ill-health he gives the mission a most vigorous start by the old but ever new method of hand-to-hand dealing with the moulvies of Islam; till he is found insensible in the jungle, and again invalided home. . . . Onward still, this time to Lahore, to initiate the grand scheme of his life, a theological training-college where theological subjects, including Greek and Hebrew, should be taught *in the vernacular*, and thus be clothed in Indian dress and Indian idiom. . . . Onward again, now to serve as missionary Bishop of Lahore, the centre of the most important Mohammedan diocese in India; during which time, when on his way home for furlough, he must needs pass through Persia, and use his knowledge of Persian to help mightily the vigorous new mission just established there. “One’s heart yearns over these dear people,” he writes, and that heart burns when ~~he~~ ^{he} finds himself at

Shirâz, the city where his great predecessor, Henry Martyn, had suffered so painfully from the blasphemies and gainsaying of the mullahs. . . . Then, when he thereafter resigns his Bishopric, whither shall he go? Home? But his heart is not to go home, but—onward still, to make a missionary journey in other Mohammedan lands, preaching to both Turkish and Arab Moslems, and ministering to Christians of every denomination, in Turkish Arabia (Busra, Baghdad, Môsul), and so on to Syria (Aleppo, Beyrout) and Palestine. Thus he reaches home. But his heart is in the East,—the East is calling him and he must go. Onward for the last time, to a great Moslem centre which he has twice before just seen, Muscat, the eastern port of Arabia. Thither he resolves to go, alone, at the age of sixty-five, strained with incessant labour, frequent illness, worn with much travel and study. On the way he visits Tunis, the scene of Lull's first missionary journey—he arrives in Muscat in 1891. Immediately the old warrior and hero plunges into the fray, and is soon in the thick of visits,—conversations held sometimes even in a mosque—and profound Arabic

study, for his gaze is still "on and ever on,"—he is actually hoping to penetrate into the interior of Arabia, the cradle of Islam!

"I long for the prayers of your little band of intercessors, offering this simple request, that as the Arab has been so grievously successful an instrument in deposing Christ from His Throne (for this long season only) in so many fair and beautiful regions of the East, . . . so the Arab may in God's good providence be at least one of the main auxiliaries and reinforcements in restoring the Great King."

The vision of the old warrior "unsupported so far as human help goes, attacking the seemingly impregnable fortress of Islam" deeply moved and stirred the home Church. But before even the fact of his illness was known, the news came of his death, after only three months in Arabia!

Lull martyred as he knocks at the gate of North Africa; Xavier dying as he cries on China to open her iron doors; Henry Martyn dying in solitude at Tokat; Valpy French dying in his lonely house at Muscat,—which is the greater hero?

"When the dumb hour clothed in black
Brings the dreams about my bed,
Call me not so often back,
Silent voices of the dead;

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Towards the lowland ways behind me
And the sunlight that is gone !
Call me rather, silent voices,
Forward to the starry track,
Glimmering up the heights before me,
On and ever on !”

Who follows in their train ?

**The Missionary
College idea.**

The Missionary College idea was French's most original contribution to the great methods of Mohammedan missions, the history of the initiating of which has been gradually unfolding. It is true that the College at Lahore was not exclusively for Moslems, but the Mohammedan convert was a very essential element in the scheme of the College.

The grand idea thus shadowed forth cannot even yet be said to have been fully worked out.

**Ian Keith
Falconer.**

French's death in Arabia at once suggests the name of one worthy to stand in the succession we have been tracing—Ian Keith Falconer. Brilliant in scholarship, after his student days he continued his studies in oriental languages, and later became Professor of Arabic and Oriental languages at Cambridge. At the time of his fairest prospects he heard and answered the call to work abroad, and he sailed for Aden

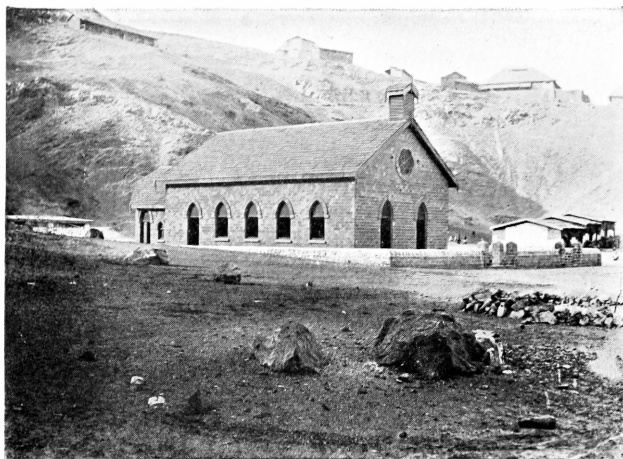
as a missionary to the Arabs. He rapidly surveyed the field, and sketched out a comprehensive and statesmanlike plan of work, making Sheikh Othman the basis of operations. For a busy six months he was again in the home country; his services were accepted by the Free Church of Scotland, and in December 1886 he returned to Arabia. Five months later came the news that Keith Falconer had died of fever. He was laid to rest in the Aden cemetery, but his life remains, and will long remain, a power among us. His purpose—"to call attention to Arabia"—was more than fulfilled; his surrender of worldly ambitions, and the dedication of his great talents are an inspiration and a call to service. Who follows in his train?

We now summarise the spread of Moslem Spread of Moslem missions of late years. missions in late years. *Arabia* has been occupied, and nobly occupied, by Scottish Presbyterian, American Presbyterian, Church Missionary, and Danish missions. Looking northward to Persia and beyond, we find with joy and gratitude to God *Persia* occupied (C.M.S. to the south, American Presbyterian to the north). In *Turkestan* a courageous Swedish mission

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influencing the important centres of Bokhara, Kashgar, Yarkand, and Khotan near the borders of Tibet. What of the still more distant interior, *Tartary and Siberia*? It is not easy to get exact information here. Professor Vambéry tells us that the Russian Government has long adopted a "Christianising" policy in some of its Moslem-Tartar districts, but we cannot put much faith in this sort of evangelism. It cannot, however, be too strongly realised how much prayer should be centred on Russia and its Greek Church, which is responsible under God for the whole of Central and Northern Asiatic Islam.

In *Egypt* an extension and intensification of work has taken place among Moslems concurrently with the era of freedom after the fall of Ismail. Westwards, what of *North Africa*? In 1880 the first steps were taken to found that courageous and devoted society the North Africa Mission. "At that time there was not a single (Protestant) missionary between Alexandria and the Atlantic coast of Morocco, nor southwards from the Mediterranean almost to the Niger and the Congo." Now there are eighteen stations all the way along that



KEITH-FALCONER MEMORIAL CHURCH, ADEN



RUINS OF "LITTLE HUT" IN WHICH KEITH-FALCONER DIED
—SHEIKH OTHMAN

long historic shore, in Egypt, Tripoli, Tunis, Algiers, Morocco.¹ And even the Great *Sudan* is being approached from east and west; from the east by a German pioneer mission with its centre at Assuan; from the west, from the Niger especially, with its far-flung outpost mission in *Hausaland*, by far the greatest and most important centre of western Islam, and only recently opened to the Gospel. All along *West Africa* from Senegambia to the Niger the African Church is steadying itself to stay, by God's grace, the flood of Islam from the north. Finally² in *East Africa* the tale is the same.

Our story is told; we have travelled through the centuries of the past, we have arrived at our own time. It remains then to examine more closely the forces, the methods, the results which are reported to-day from these scenes of work, and in a final chapter, gathering the threads together, to see a vision of the future, to see how the Spirit of Jesus may be given to clothe Himself with men so that the task may be finished, and the reproach of Islam rolled away.

¹ There are some other smaller societies in Morocco.

² See Chapter III.

QUESTIONS FOR CHAPTER VI

1. What gave rise to the Apology of Al Kindi?
2. Who was Petrus Venerabilis? What attitude did he take towards Islam?
3. What do you consider the most striking features of Lull's life? What methods did he advocate or employ for the saving of Islam?
4. What was Henry Martyn's chief work? Describe the last year of his life.
5. Except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone, but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit. Exemplify this truth from Chapter VI.
6. What was Bishop French's special contribution to *methods* of missionary work? What are the points of resemblance between him and Martyn?
7. What arguments *from facts* would you use to justify Ian Keith Falconer in laying aside a brilliant career?
8. What use did the different missionaries make of Christian literature in the struggle with Islam? Enumerate their literary works.

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- SMITH, GEORGE—Henry Martyn, Saint and Scholar.
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- SINKER, R.—Memorials of the Hon. Ian Keith Falconer.
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on early Jesuits.

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CHAPTER VII

HOW SAVE IT ?

(2) *The Evangelisation of Islam—To-day*

LOOKING back at the rapid sketch in our last chapter, one feels perhaps that it inevitably suggested a too favourable idea of the adequacy of missionary effort to the world of Islam, and of the recognition by the Church of Christ of the particular character and the supreme necessity of the task of evangelising that world.

Common
objections to
Mohammedan
missions.

In truth the goal is sensibly nearer than one hundred years ago, when Henry Martyn, chaplain of the East India Company, was putting the last finishing touches on the translation of the New Testament into Hindustani. And yet, in equal truth, the Church of Christ is hardly yet awake. It is only just beginning to be easy to stir up "interest" in Moslem missions. "Uganda is so much more *romantic*," "Japan and China are so much more *promising*." "Do not Mohammedans

worship One God ? ” “ Is it really possible to convert Mohammedans ? ” “ I thought Islam was quite a *half-way-house* to Christianity ! ” “ Very good religion for these people ! ” “ Mussulmen, very fanatical set : why don't you go to the heathen tribes ? ” . . . These voices, which come to the mind's ear with so familiar a ring, and so touching a tone of discovery and conviction, illustrate what is still very largely the attitude of the Church of Christ, nay, of many who support foreign missions, to the problem which Raymund Lull thought was the grand problem of the Church. “ One might suppose,” says Dr Zwemer, who has done so much to challenge this attitude, “ that the Church thought her great commission to evangelise the world did not apply to Moslems.”

And even those who are working among Moslems have not as a rule fully realised their need of special training, special knowledge, co-operation, and specialisation. Not until April, 1906, was the *first* general Mohammedan Missionary Conference held. In October of the same year it was said at a meeting of the American Board, a society which for decades has had

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scores of missionaries in Moslem lands in the East, "This is the first time that the question of missionary work for Moslems has been openly discussed upon the platform of the American Board."

We may then let the facts of last chapter and of the present one have on us their full effects of encouragement and stimulus, inasmuch as they do indeed shatter every one of the vague objections urged by the voices we heard a moment ago, and warrant the belief that God is calling His Church in this matter to a step which may lead to unparalleled opportunities and successes in the near future.

**Plan of
Chapter VII.**

The plan of this chapter is to review in somewhat more detail the work that is being done in some of the fields the occupation of which we have witnessed:—the methods that are being used, the problems that are being encountered, the successes that are being recorded. And this will bring us naturally to a realisation of what still remains to be done.

North Africa.

The wing of the House of Islam that usually first greets the European traveller going abroad is North Africa, and nowhere is Islam more proud, in spite of European

occupations, or more difficult to influence. There is more than one mission at work from Tripoli to Morocco, but the chief one is the North Africa Mission, which works also among the Jews, and other settlers in certain of these districts. Faithful and simple evangelistic work, by preaching, visiting, and tract distribution, ministries of healing, ministries of education are the chief characteristics of the work in this vast region. And there has been success—at “almost all the stations there have been some converts, many of whom have been baptised.” The following names of places meet our eyes in this connection:—Fez and Tangier in Morocco; Algiers, Tunis, Bizerta, Tripoli.

The following words by a missionary in Tripoli (Mr W. Reid) may be taken as typical in regard to work among a people where utter religious intolerance (not merely politico-religious intolerance as in Turkey) reigns absolutely supreme:—

Type of worker
needed.

“The work of the Christian amongst this people is very difficult indeed. And after fifteen years of work amongst them, it seems true that the only way to win them is by personal influence—the influence of men and women filled with the Holy Ghost—the power of the Holy Ghost in the personal life

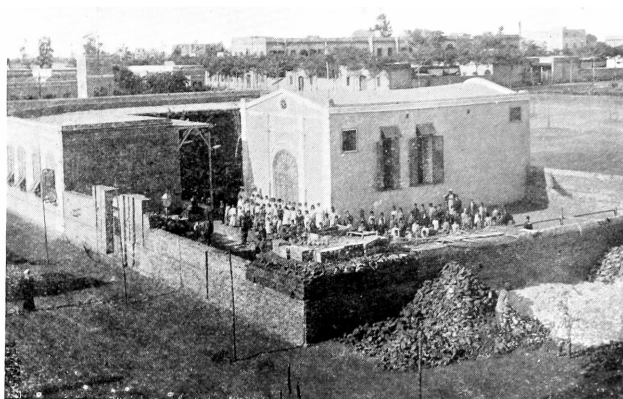
and character of the missionary. And in order to exercise this power he needs to get into close contact with the people. But here lies the difficulty of the situation. The problem of work amongst Moslems in North Africa is how to get really close to them.

“The great obstacle is what is commonly called ‘fanaticism,’ that high wall of suspicion, proud exclusiveness, and hate that Islam has built up round its followers, to keep them in, and to keep the missionary out—a wall that, alas! too often proves unscalable and impregnable. Men have laboured for years in the same city and yet could not count a couple of friends.

“It is difficult to love a Moslem because he is not very lovable, and because he usually resents a too near approach to him, until in some way his confidence has been won.

“When acts of kindness and love are done to him he is sure to suspect that I am doing it, not for his sake and because of simple disinterested love, but for some reason of self-interest known perhaps only to myself. He does not know such love, and cannot believe his eyes when he sees what looks like it in another. He thinks I have come to heap up merit to balance an old account of evil doing. I am well paid for it. At best I am doing it in order to win him from Mohammed to Jesus Christ, and even this is perceived to be an interested motive. I do not love him for himself, or as a fellow human, just as he is in his need of help. No, I want to win him to Jesus, and if it were not for that ulterior purpose I should not put myself out of the way to help him.

“ . . . Continuance in loving, patient, helpful



MISSION CHURCH AND SCHOOLS, N. AFRICA



MOSLEM SCHOLARS, N. AFRICA

sympathy will find a way—for there always is a way—through the high wall of fanaticism to the heart of even a Moslem. Once show him that I love him for his own sake, and that I am glad to help him apart entirely from whether he believes my message or not, and the chord of love that is still to be found in the heart of the lowest will respond. . . .

“How is this to be done? Thank God it is being done here and there by medical missions and schools and by the work of trained nurses. But only the fringe of the population is touched. . . .

“In the past there has been too much preaching and too little practice of positive Christianity. . . .

“A fact I have found most encouraging is that most Moslems know goodness when they see it. They know and acknowledge that there is little goodness amongst themselves, and when they see it in the life of the missionary they recognise it and acknowledge it fully and frankly. If this life is accompanied by patient loving labour on their behalf, their praise is usually expressed in terms that are absolutely contrary to all they have been taught as to the future condition of those who do not believe in Mohammed.”

These are wise words, and if they have been cited at some length it is because the principle they so well express holds good throughout the length and breadth of the Moslem world. Not without reason then does the citation occur at the outset of our survey: it should be remembered and

applied throughout it till the end, for it reminds us that before all, through all, and after all the Life and the Spirit of Jesus is the sole asset of the Church.

Egypt.

We turn now to Egypt to catch a glimpse of what is actually being done there among Moslems, remembering that the University Mosque of El Azhar is the centre, literally from a geographical, and actually from a spiritual, point of view of the world of Islam.

In Egypt there is perfect freedom for preaching among Moslems, and all the methods usually employed are in full use there. The American Mission, although its work has been chiefly among the Copts, reports one hundred and forty baptisms of adult Moslems during its history. The Church Missionary Society, in quite recent years, has baptised some thirty converts. And there are others, *e.g.* the Egypt General Mission. A novel and encouraging thing is the report of three baptisms as a *natural fruit* of the work of St Mark's Church, Alexandria, the Church of the British community. Converts from Islam are boldly and ably preaching the religion they once hated

The increased prestige of Christianity has caused it to be at least studied, and given the tribute of a reasoned opposition. This increased prestige has been due to the improvement in the condition of the Christian Church, whether by the establishment of the reformed Presbyterian community through the work of the American Mission, or the beginnings of a "counter-reformation" within the ancient Coptic Church itself, and it has been due also *to the very fact that Christians are beginning to do their duty in preaching to Moslems*. Whether by the tens of thousands of Bibles and religious works distributed yearly from Assuan to Alexandria, or by itinerant or village missions, or preachings, visitings, disputations in the capital, or medical missions in several centres, or the steady work of the education of boys and girls, the work goes on, and success is sure.

Three aspects of work in Egypt serve in each case, to direct our gaze far beyond Egypt itself.

(1) The Azhar University-Mosque is a ⁽¹⁾ Azhar University wonderful institution. Far the oldest of all mediæval universities, it is the only one which has remained, and remains, mediæval

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in its curriculum, its methods, its whole aspect. A great court, glowing with sunlight, with a shady many-pillared portico on the far side . . . in the court groups of students in turbans and robes squat singly or in little groups, studying and (which to them is the same) memorising; or chatting, and perchance making their morning meal. . . . In the portico they sit in circles, great or small, "at the feet of" their Sheikhs—the Rabbis of Islam—who themselves squat on low daïs-seats and discuss the grammar, language, interpretation, and legal teaching of the Korân. (Thus sat a young student from Tarsus named Saul, in the Azhar of his day, at the feet of Sheikh Gamaliel—in the same posture, hearing discourses according to the same method upon just such subjects.) . . . There you see black Sudanese from Hausaland or the Gambia River, from Timbuktu and the Upper Niger; brownish-yellow-skinned Maghrabis from Morocco and the West; fair, pink-and-white Turks from Stamboul; almond-eyed Mongoloids from far Russian Siberia and Turkestan, and many more. They return your laugh and jest as you speak to them in Arabic: they enquire

where you live : they say they will have the honour of visiting your Presence, if God will. . . . They are not, however, so complaisant when they come in numbers thirsting for the wordy fray, and the religious passions rise, and eyes burn fiercely, and the hot Arabic streams forth in the eternal disputation. . . . In the memory of living men no Christians could so much as enter that place ; now they enter unmolested. Students and ex-students have been converted to Christ, and not a few students have, as they paced or sat apart, studied there, not the Korân, but the Injîl Yasû' al Masîh (Gospel of Jesus Christ). . . . And even from those turbulent meetings for disputation, so often breaking up in disorder, fruit has been gathered. Hear the story of one convert :—

“ I was born at Jerusalem, and my father is one of the teachers in the Haram—that sacred temple-area close by the spot where Abraham offered up his son Isaac, and not far from where the Saviour offered Himself, a better sacrifice for the salvation of the world. My father is also one of the editors of the official newspaper of the Moslem authorities at Jerusalem. At the age of seven I began my studies at school. But they consisted in the study of the Korân instead of the Bible, and

**Story of Sheikh
Mahmoud
Bûlus.**

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the laws of Mohammed instead of the laws of Moses. I afterwards went for a period to a mission school, where the Bible was taught. One day, when still a boy, I found accidentally on a shelf in our house a Christian book, called "Sweet First-fruits."¹ Where and how my father became possessed of this book I cannot say, for it is a book forbidden throughout the Turkish Empire. This book I read and re-read from beginning to end, and by it I became acquainted with the principles of Christianity. In this book I found the passages of the Korân examined, which speak of the Old and New Testaments and of Jesus Christ, and I saw how our commentators had perverted their meaning. In the Korân it is said, 'We have sent down upon men the books of the New and Old Testaments.' It follows that these Books must contain true words, and were meant as our inspired guide; but the commentators say that the Jews have so altered the text that it cannot be trusted. The Korân says of Jesus Christ that 'God sent Him into the world as His Word and His Spirit,' and the plain meaning is that Jesus is the Word, and that God, the Word, and the Spirit are One, as in the teaching of St John; but our commentators say that by Word and Spirit only expression and breath are meant, and that Jesus was created as well as born, and is not the only begotten Son of the Father. The study of this book caused me to ask my father many questions, but instead of answering them he used to beat me, to prevent me from talking on such subjects.

¹ Published by the Religious Tract Society in English.

"After ten years' study in the Haram, the Moslem College in the Temple-area at Jerusalem, whither I went after leaving school, I was sent to the El Azhar University at Cairo, the most important school of Moslem theology in the world. Five times a day I heard the call to prayer, 'There is no God but the One God. Come to prayer.' One day as I was walking in the direction of the great bridge, I saw a notice which attracted my attention: 'This is the house of the English clergy for the discussion of religious and moral questions.' So I said to myself, 'This is just what I want.' So I entered the reception room, and began to talk with the catechist about the missionaries. Soon Mr Thornton came in. After the usual salutations he began to talk to me, and asked me to attend the meeting in the evening. This I did. The subject that evening was: 'Which was the true sacrifice, that of Isaac (as in the Bible), or that of Ishmael (as is implied in the Korân)?' I got up and told Mr Thornton that he did not know what he was talking about, as I was sure it was Ishmael, not Isaac, who was offered by Abraham. After the close of the meeting, tracts were given to me, but I was so angry that I tore them up, as being the words of unbelievers. One evening I even brought twenty students with me from El Azhar on purpose to break up the meeting. I remember the subject that evening was 'The Crucifixion of Christ.' Now, the Moslems do not believe that Jesus was ever really crucified, so I stopped the speaker, and called out to all true believers to rise up and protest.

"Still, one thing seemed strange to me. I was

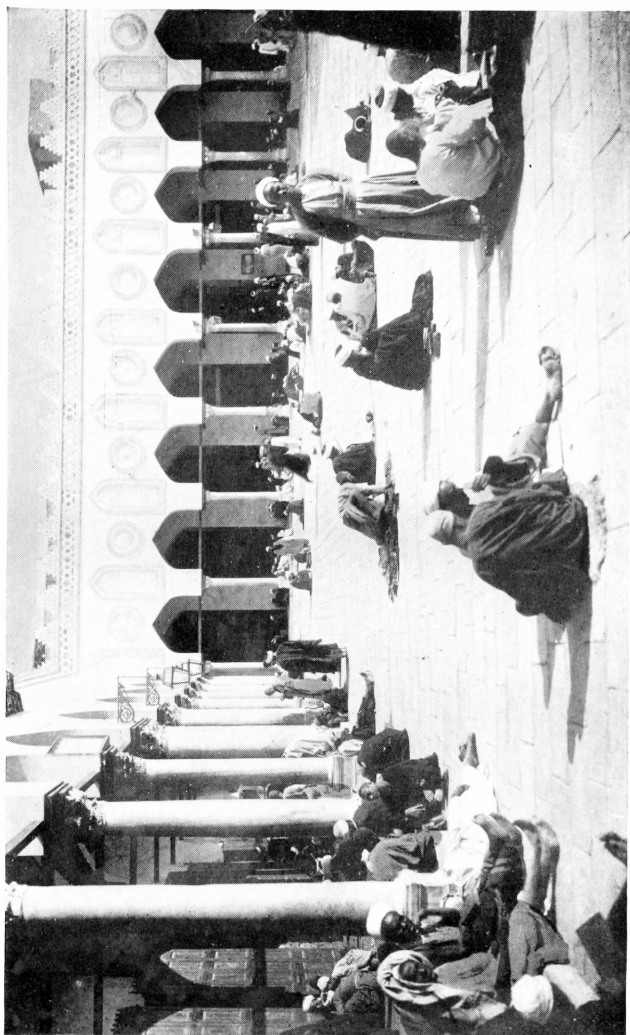
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treating the missionaries with hatred and insult, but the missionaries never ceased to treat me with courtesy, and even love. So I saw that whereas Islam teaches us to return hate with hate, Christianity, on the contrary, teaches men to love their enemies, and to treat them courteously.

“So then I began to change my conduct. I came to the meetings week by week, but no longer to oppose, but to listen. I took the tracts and read them diligently, and fixed my attention upon three principal points—the origin of Islam, the meaning of the mission of Mohammed, and the nature of the inspiration of the Korân. As I read the Christian tracts, and especially the monthly magazine, called the *Orient and Occident*, published by the missionaries in Cairo, the beams of Christian light began to reach my soul.

“Then Mr Thornton, as if he understood my malady and the medicine required for it, put the Bible into my hands. God gave me a right understanding of the Gospel. I saw revealed the love of God towards man, our need of reconciliation with God, the need of the sufferings of Christ to redeem mankind, and the truth of the Christian teaching in the New Testament, and I asked Mr Thornton for regular Bible instruction.

“After two weeks’ instruction I was entirely convinced of the truth of Christianity. But I had now been four years at El Azhar, and my father wished me to go to Constantinople in order to study law with a view to ultimately becoming a Moslem judge. I did not wish to go, because I knew I should not be able to show that I was a Christian; yet if I did not go, all my worldly prospects for the



INTERIOR OF AL AZHAR UNIVERSITY, CAIRO

future would be ruined, and my father would be made angry, and I should have to live as an exile in foreign lands. After a long struggle within me, as I pondered these things upon my bed, I fell asleep, and while asleep a voice came to me saying: 'Rise up. Light is on thy path. Be not afraid, for I am with thee.' This happened three times.

"In the morning I went at once to Mr Thornton to tell him what had happened. When he was convinced that all I said was true, he received me into the mission compound, and the doctors gave me a room under their house. The same afternoon I wrote to my father to tell him where I was, and on 7th October, 1905, I applied to the proper quarters to have my name legally inscribed as a Christian. The following day Mr Thornton publicly received me as a catechumen in the Old Cairo Church, and after a few months of instruction and trial he baptised me by the name of Bûlus (Paul) instead of my former name of Mahmûd. But before I was baptised my father wrote frequently from Jerusalem to dissuade me from being a Christian, and ultimately came himself to Cairo to bring me back. He had several interviews with me in Mr Thornton's house, and offered me half his fortune if I would renounce Christianity and return home with him. When his entreaties were in vain, my father appealed to Lord Cromer. I had to appear before his Lordship, who told me that my father was very angry with me, but that I was old enough to profess what religion I preferred, as Egypt was now a free country. I told Lord Cromer that I did not wish to go to Syria until it was a free country, and thereupon he made me sign a document to that effect in his presence,

and that of other witnesses to my signature. The Prime Minister of Egypt and the Minister of Foreign Affairs were present during the interview, and witnessed my confession. I thank God for giving me strength to remain firm. He has given me another father in Mr Thornton in place of my own father whom I have lost, and he has promised me treasure in Heaven in place of the earthly possessions which would have been mine ; and now I feel and know that God is near me, in a way I never knew before. Pray for me. Peace be with you.”¹

The possibilities of work among Azhar students have been only barely tried. They still await the staff of men, sufficient in ability and numbers, willing to give time to develop those possibilities to their utmost.

(2) Literature.

(2) The work in Egypt is characterised by another international method which, though it is even more notably employed in India, it is convenient to mention here—that of *literature*.

D. M. Thornton¹ emphasises the extraordinary importance of the classical Arabic tongue, the vernacular of all Moslems who are in the least educated, from Morocco to Baghdad. It can be read by many educated

¹ Quoted from “D. M. Thornton, a Study in Missionary Ideals and Methods.”

Moslems in all Moslem countries. He says :—

“When areas are considered, I do not fear to be contradicted when I assert that *next to the English language, Arabic is read and revered over the widest area of the earth's surface.*

“The actual number of those who at present *speak Arabic* as their native language is *about fifty millions* of souls, . . . so long as Islam exists and spreads alongside of education, so long will the Arabic tongue increase in influence and remain one of the dominant languages of the world.”

And so Arabic literature, composed, printed, and published in Cairo is making its way not only throughout Egypt, but to many parts of the Moslem world. Parcels of books have gone to Hausaland, Zanzibar, Palestine, Arabia, and Irâk. Here then is an additional call to the band of scholars, men of the type of Lull, men at once of intellectual ability and spiritual fire, who will join to their preaching and disputing among Azhar students the development of a Christian literature specially adapted for Moslems. The “Nile Mission Press” is already in being—the indispensable auxiliary to the literary undertaking. In Syria, the great Beyrout press is by far the greatest

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in the Arabic-speaking East. If an era of absolute press liberty has really dawned, it may be expected to add to its incalculably important indirect work a direct work comparable to that of the Madras press, where numbers of publications, specially for Moslems, are poured forth in Urdu, English, and other languages spoken by Indian Mohammedans.

Problems of
old National
Churches, e.g.
the Copts.

(3) And again, ere we leave Cairo, we find yet another question which is not special to Egypt but is common to the whole of the Near East: the problem of the old national Christian Churches, islands in the sea of Islam—alas, islands mutually hostile to each other. In all parts of the old Moslem East—in Constantinople, Asia Minor, Armenia, Syria, Palestine, Turkish Arabia, Persia, and Egypt—while the door to direct Moslem work was yet closed, Christian effort was put forth to help and inspire and reform these communities, chiefly by American Presbyterian missions, but by others also, *e.g.* the Archbishop's Mission to Assyrian Christians. A twofold result has been achieved: on the one hand, enlightened Christian communities have been formed, separate from these old Eastern

Churches; and, on the other hand, a counter-movement within those Churches themselves is beginning to manifest itself, especially in Egypt. In either case the effect on the evangelisation of Islam is immense: indirectly every pure and living Christian congregation is a light for God in Christ; and direct conversions are sure to come—witness the heroic story of Kamil Abd el Masîh,¹ whose history shows that even in the bigoted Turkish Empire the Gospel is not bound. And, on the other hand, if the spiritual, evangelical movement, which has already begun, were to increase in the bosom of those old Churches themselves, it would be as life from the dead; as it is, the conversion of Moslems and their baptism into the Coptic Church of Egypt is by no means uncommon.

Wonderful openings are arising of work for Moslems in the Turkish Empire. The whole scene is changing—the prospect is full of hope and of appeal. Doctor Barton² throws much light on methods used in the past, and on the present position. A great educational work, largely affecting Moslems,

¹ Jessup. See Bibliography.

² See "The East and the West," July 1909, and "Daybreak in Turkey."

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is being carried on by Americans and others in the Turkish Empire and in Persia—special mention should be made of the great Colleges at Constantinople and Beyrout. Space alone has prevented any adequate account of school educational work among Moslems throughout the House of Islam. Mohammedans are also reached by medical work ; there are hospitals at Damascus, Beyrout, Brumâna, Nâblus, Gâza, Baghdad, Môsul, and at Bahrein and Sheikh Othmân in Arabia.

Arabia.

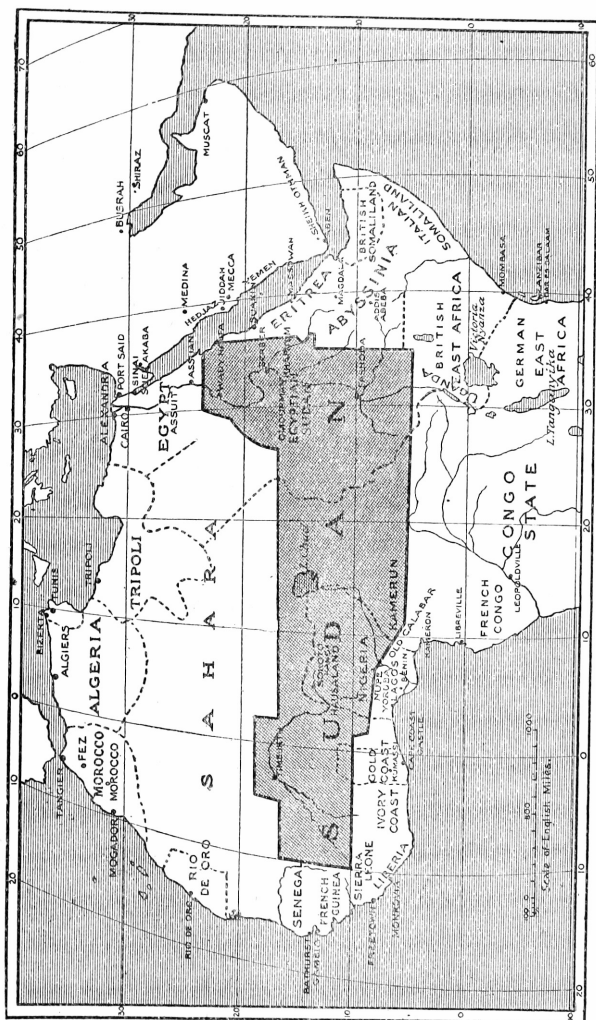
Arabia ! Scottish missionaries from the south-west, and American missionaries from the east are working, and watching, and waiting. They hold the tradition of Keith-Falconer on the west, and of French on the east. Arabia, the Cradle of Islam, is their objective, and the heart of Arabia and Islam—Mecca. That up to the present is locked, bolted, and barred. But for how long ? Quite recently an order was received at Bahrein from Mecca for a reference Bible. Pilgrims bound for Mecca are being reached with Christian literature. The Hejâz railway will shortly reach Mecca : have a railway and a hermit territory ever yet been compatible ? . . . The growth of

the medical work at Sheikh Othmân is typical. The average number of patients for the last three years is 34,428. Last year more than 800 operations were performed under most difficult circumstances, with no trained nursing except what the two doctors themselves could give. Early in 1909 the new hospital was opened, yet no trained nurse is forthcoming. People often come immense distances for treatment, and are of course taught something of the Gospel before they are medically treated.

What shall be said of the huge Sudan, including the vast region which we know as the Sahara desert? a region little known, yet scored and traversed by many trade routes, dotted by oases, containing great kingdoms with hundreds of thousands of subjects. Here an Islam of primitive intensity holds absolute sway, and threatens all West Central Africa down to the coast of the Gulf of Guinea! The whole of that enormous district, containing it is not known how many millions of souls—its doors have been hardly so much as knocked at by the Church of Christ! . . . Yet from the south a beginning has been made.

Sudan,
West Africa,
East Africa.

It has been the occupation of the Guinea Coast States, from the Gambia to the Niger, by Christian missions to the heathen, and the political occupation of these districts and their hinterlands by European powers, that have brought Christianity and Islam in these districts face to face. Further, in Northern Nigeria the outposts of the Church have penetrated into the Mohammedan Sudan itself, and are at work in Hausaland, the great door to the whole region. Already the first-fruits of Christ are won, and where some few years ago the missionaries were almost in despair at the blank insensate apathy of the people, we now hear of converts baptised in a Hausa river ; a class of candidates for baptism ; and a spirit of enquiry. The first convert has a remarkable experience. Little Audu is a Hausa boy whose father was making the pilgrimage—a long, difficult and dangerous feat, indeed. By the death of that father the boy is left stranded at Tripoli in North Africa, where he falls in with a party of missionaries who are studying Hausa there, preparatory to starting work in Hausaland later on. He tarries with them, and there for the first time he



NORTH AND CENTRAL AFRICA.

The shaded portion represents the vast territory of the Sudan, covering an area of 2,000,000 square miles. The Sudan is equivalent in area to the area of Europe minus Russia and plus Siam and Japan. Hardly any missionaries are at work in this field.

learns of the existence and meaning of Christian love and character. But he leaves them—Islam must unteach him Islam—he makes his way to Mecca and performs the pilgrimage. . . . The disillusionment is complete. His admiration for Islam is gone—but as yet there is nothing to replace it; he remains apparently a convinced Moslem, with a Moslem's contempt for any religion that is not that of the Prophet. But God's hand is on him still. The first and second step have been taken, and the third is when the hand of God guides him to a missionary's house in Alexandria on the way back from Mecca. He is thus enabled to get into touch with his friend of Tripoli days. He finds his way to him and becomes his adopted son. The fourth step has been taken. His faith in Islam is now gone; but his heart, dull with disappointment and not yet revived by faith in Christ, cannot bring itself to yield to Him who alone can satisfy it. But his friend and father holds on—not for one moment does he let go. And the light at last comes, the soul is re-born, Audu is Christ's—the first Hausa for Christ. He is now working with his friend and adopted

father, Dr Walter Miller, among his own people in Hausaland.

The Hausaland missionaries' gaze is northward; northward and eastward, to the great Sudan. The methods used are ministries of healing, teaching, and preaching, and, as enlightenment under British rule increases, a great chance is opening up through education. But the number of workers is absurdly inadequate.

The following words, by the most experienced missionary¹ in those parts, are very interesting, as bringing vividly to our notice the contest of Islam for the tribes:

"All to the north and east and mostly west of us is won to Islam: the south is occupied by pagans, wholly hostile to Islam, and hating it with a deadly hatred: further south again, among the great Nupe and Yoruba peoples, it is making rapid strides. . . . The most of the propaganda is done by traders; it is very superficial at first, but in a second and third generation it will become an intelligent power according to the capability of each people, probably nowhere so great as among the Hausas themselves.

"Of course the principal thing needed is a native agency. The Government has brought *Mohammedans* from *India* as clerks, artificers, blacksmiths; we ought to bring Christians from India and Egypt to these countries. I am convinced that the value of a con-

¹ Dr Walter Miller.

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verted Mohammedan from Egypt in this country, if he could live humbly and simply, would be revolutionary. Here converted heathens to Islam win more converts than others."

So arises the great problem of building up the African Christian Churches.

"Missions will scarcely be able to prevent the entrance of Islam among a single tribe, much less into large districts. Islam is spreading with the certainty and irresistibility of a rising tide. The only question is if it will still be possible for missions to organise Christian Churches like breakwaters, able to resist the flood, and outweather it, or whether everything will be carried away headlong."¹

The following, by the Rev. J. L. Macintyre² of Nigeria, brings the noise and dust of this tremendous conflict more nearly home to our hearts and imaginations than a dozen essays written by theorists at home :—

"I beg to lay before you the following proposals with regard to an organised effort to combat the advance of Islam in West Africa, and in Nigeria especially.

¹ Pastor Würz, Secretary of the Basel Mission.

² In the *Western Equatorial Diocesan Magazine*, Nov. 1908.

“ . . . As *ignorance* is the greatest stronghold of Mohammedanism, so *education* is the Church's greatest weapon in meeting it.

“(1) Beginning with *literature*, efforts should be made to produce vernacular literature dealing with the Mohammedan controversy. There is a large amount of such already published in India and in Egypt. Gradually these could be translated into the different vernaculars, and thus the weapons already forged in warfare with Islam elsewhere would at once become available in West Africa.

“(2) In all Mission Schools *definite instruction* should be given on the errors of Islam, and the pupils forearmed. As Mohammedanism claims to be a larger revelation, and to supersede Christianity, it is imperative that this bold challenge should be met, and not passed over in silence, and that every mission pupil should learn not only the Christian truths, but also their position with regard to attacks on those truths.

“(3) Special efforts should be made to encourage the *systematic study* of this question by all workers, both clergy and laymen, as too often they are not well equipped to meet the current objections to Christianity put into the minds of their hearers, which objections may at any time become dominant.

“(4) *Evangelistic effort* ought to be more used among Mohammedans. . . . Special meetings ought to be held for Mohammedans, and every means used to find out what sort of address or what form of meeting specially appeals to them. Preachers will need to be specially trained for this work.

“(5) Special efforts should be made to *occupy strong Mohammedan centres*, as it is from these centres that

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the Mohammedan influence on the pagan districts is exercised. . . .

“(6) An itinerant order of (native) *preachers*, to go about in something the same way as Mohammedan *malams* go about from village to village, would be a great means of extending the Kingdom. The men would need to be specially trained, and would then be given as free a hand as possible, going about in a certain district, and staying in the villages for a week or a month, and endeavouring to get some place or building set apart for Christian worship. The ordinary visit of the missionary on his itineration is too soon forgotten, while the itinerant missionary, free to stay in the place for a month if need be, would be able to reap some of the fruit, and leave a permanent instead of a transient impression.”

The problems in East Africa are to a large extent the same as those already mentioned. The barrier Churches in Uganda and around Lake Nyassa are breakwaters in the flood of Islam—they need strengthening all along the line. Zanzibar is the greatest centre of Islam in the East. The following words by Canon Dale of the Universities’ Mission are remarkably like the message from West Africa :—

“Islam goes with every Moslem. Formerly it was there, and we knew nothing. Now we know, but we are there too. The Mohammedans’ fulcrum is a

very strong anti-European feeling in the mind of the native, and therefore Christian Governments should see to it that no just ground is given for anti-Europeanism.

“We are beginning to train our native teachers with a view to replying to the very ignorant Moslem teachers he meets. We shall want better material soon. A Mohammedan teacher in the Zegna country, now a Christian teacher, told me that what began to turn him, was to find that our Christian *boys* understood their sacred book, whilst he, a teacher, whose pupils are now teachers, did not understand his. . . .

“But we can *aim* at placing a well-educated native teacher, catechist, or minister, wherever there is a Mohammedan. I believe in adhering like grim death to Christian principle and the Christian faith at whatever cost, even if our converts leave us because of hard sayings, and run away in time of persecution. The Cross triumphs, and the Cross only. So I would appeal:—

“(1) For persistent, fervent prayer for the Mohammedans for the gift of the Holy Spirit, that they may see the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ.

“(2) An attempt to be made to plant colleges of trained Christian scholars in Mohammedanism in all great centres.

“(3) A series of books, the work of trained theologians and experts from the Mohammedan field, containing the *best and soundest* answers to all the usual Mohammedan objections, and free from all unsound and defective arguments. These could be translated *ad lib*.

“(4) An appeal to men at home, the very best our

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Universities have to give, to devote themselves to this special work, and offering themselves where the battle is keenest, and the call most urgent."

It needs to be burned in upon the Church at home that East, Central, and West Africa are the greatest battlegrounds between Islam and Christianity in this twentieth century. All who know the facts acknowledge it. In 1908 the great assembly of Bishops at the Lambeth Conference in their Report on foreign missions declared that Islam "is challenging the Christian Church to a struggle for the possession of Equatorial Africa." In 1908, in the judgment of their Committee, "the door is still open for the Christian Church; but if she fails to press through it, in a few years it will be shut." The missionaries of all societies working in those districts impress the facts upon us, and at present the Church seems blind and deaf to this urgent need. The call for men, whether made by C.M.S., U.M.C.A.,¹ Presbyterian or other Churches is not responded to in any adequate way. Stations are undermanned, opportunities never to recur are daily being lost, workers break down

¹ Universities' Mission to Central Africa.



MOSLEM CONVERT NOW WORKING AT ADEN

through over-pressure, and the Church at home is unmoved. Islam itself has no lack of workers, but Christ at present seems to call in vain. Wherever the call is answered, there is blessing. The Africans themselves will do the work—hardly one Englishman in a thousand can learn to see things as Africans see them—but Europeans must be there to lead, and help, and guide. Hear of one Hausa convert:—

“Last summer¹ a Hausa convert, only one year after his baptism, was travelling for business purposes to the old and fanatical city of Katsina, 140 miles from our C.M.S. station in Zaria, almost the earliest stronghold of Islam in this land, where no white missionary has been allowed. He was a young malam of considerable ability, and well known for his learning; his conversion and baptism had caused some consternation in orthodox circles, where it had been freely said that whatever we might succeed in doing among the illiterate, we should never convert a malam! Soon after his arrival in Katsina, he was sent for privately by the Emir:—‘We have heard of you, . . . why did you leave your own faith, and that of your fathers, and become a Christian?’ Seeking for God’s guidance, our friend quietly gave his reasons. . . . During the rest of his stay in the city, for several days, not one day passed but he was invited to the houses of the leading malams and chiefs to

¹ Words of Dr Miller.

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explain the Christian Faith and read the Scriptures in Arabic."

But how much remains to be done !

"Few have felt the burden of those states which lie east of Northern Nigeria, but on a few, as they look at the map and see stretching away from west to east a continuation of huge Moslem states, Bornu, Ba-ghirmi, Wadai, Darfur, Kordofan, the burden of the untouched, unevangelized lands lies heavy and almost intolerable. Not one soul there knows the Truth, and there is no Truth-bearer, and the kingdom cannot yet come. Ten years ago I first went to the Central Sudan, and to-day in that great Hausa empire, there is only one mission-station. Ten years' work in the Hausa Mohammedan States and only one station, with still a vast country stretching east, west, and north from Zaria, without one mission-station until one gets to the Mediterranean littoral on the north, and Khartoum on the east ! In my early dream I seemed to see in these ten years the Hausa country evangelized, and our forces to be well on the way to carrying the Gospel into the lands beyond ! Are we to be any longer thwarted ? And will the Church of Christ still hold back and refuse to give us the men we ask for, that soon the blessed Name may be taken to all these great lands and cities ?"

And from East Africa, and East Central Africa, the call is just the same.

India.

We turn now to India, where modern Mohammedan missions were born. It is

beginning to be felt that more specialisation is needed for Moslem work, so distinct in every way from work among Hindus. If missionaries specialised in their training more—perhaps by learning Arabic and studying Moslem literature in a centre like Cairo,—and if work for Moslems were treated more as a unity, even greater results would be secured.

“The accessions from Islam” (says Dr Wherry), “especially in Northern India, have been continuous during all the years since the death of Henry Martyn. One here and another there has been added to the Christian Church, so that now, as one looks over the rolls of Christian membership, one is surprised to find so many converts from Islam, or the children and children’s children of such converts. In the north, especially in the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province, every congregation has a representation from the Moslem ranks. Some of the churches have a majority of their membership gathered from among the Mussulmans. . . . But perhaps the fact that tells most clearly the story of the advance of Christianity among Moslems in India is this, that among the native pastors and Christian preachers and teachers in North India, there are at least two hundred who were once followers of Islam.”

India leads us on in thought to the great Central Asia. vastnesses of Central Asia. Down the

north-west frontier of India is the long line of Mission outposts stretching from Peshawar to Quetta, and in every one of these stations medical work is being carried on. They are something more than outposts—they are bases. Already the itinerant medical missionary can pass over into Central Asia: at least one branch dispensary in charge of an Indian hospital assistant has been established across the frontier with good results.

Across Afghanistan and into the Turkestans we come, across the old trade route of South Central Asia: by that route, from west to east, went the Moslems, who settled in China and became the ancestors of the twenty million Chinese Moslems to-day: by that route, from east to west, go to-day the Chinese mandarins who administer Chinese Turkestan: by that route from west to east will one day run, perhaps soon, the Transcaspian Railway, a second and southern trunk line linking Russia to Northern China, passing through the very heart of the old home of the Turks, and along the main artery of Asiatic Islam. Why not, then, by that route messengers of the Cross? In these lands, too, we must never forget the work of the Bible Society,

and the testimony borne by the lives of its heroic colporteurs. It reaches some Asiatic Moslems and helps to stop further advance on the part of Islam in heathen Mongolia.

And in the Turkestans also a start has been made: brave Swedish and German pioneers are at work, and Bokhara, nearly as great a spiritual centre as Cairo, and one of the great "University" towns in the world of Islam, has been occupied. In Chinese Turkestan as well, work is being carried on in the important towns of Kashgar, Yarkand, and Khotan. The New Testament has been translated into the Tartar-Turkish of the district, and the first-fruits of conversion have been won.

Moreover, there are signs that these great lands will be entered from other quarters also: the Central Asian Pioneer Mission is striving to go up from Kashmîr; and in late years a China Inland Missionary advanced into the west of the same territory from North West China, and in the second of two journeys arrived at Kashgar, a full thousand miles to the west, thus crossing the entire breadth of Chinese Turkestan.

Descending with the caravans after their China. long, weary march, into the plains of China,

we find that little, if any, special work has been done for her millions of Mohammedans. The Church has been, and is, straining every nerve to meet the tremendous call which *heathen* China has made, and gather the rich, and easier, harvest to be reaped there. Assuredly Mohammedan China will one day benefit from the ingathering of the non-Mohammedans, and the Christianising of the Empire as a whole. Yet it may be, that the time has come to study and meet more directly the needs of this great room in the House of Islam.

Dutch East
Indies.

The most successful Mohammedan mission field in the world is the East Indian Archipelago, where, especially in Java and Sumatra, the Dutch missions have accomplished a wonderful work.

(1) The Missions are favoured by the Government in the sense that they are not disfavoured, feared, thwarted, or discriminated against.

(2) They have done, concurrently with direct work among Islam, the important work of saving that which remains. In Sumatra, strong missionary work is being done among the *heathen* Battaks of the North—half a million out of 625,000—

who have sturdily resisted Islam, and 62,000 of these have been baptised and organised into regular congregations! and in addition there are 10,000 catechumens.

(3) Missions have done a most successful direct work among the Moslems themselves. Free and unflinching methods have been pursued, and the result will astonish the reader, hitherto accustomed to hear of conversions in units or at most tens:—6500 converts have been baptised, with 1150 catechumens! The German Rhenish Mission alone has eight stations, sixty-seven out-stations, and nearly six thousand converts. In one circuit, out of eighty-one chiefs twenty-five are Christian. The Christianity of the *Moslem* converts is more deeply conscientious than that of others; “friction with Islam has weeded out or kept away inferior elements.”

These people, moreover, have already furnished the Church with many an efficient worker and preacher. And the total result is that the prestige of Christianity is great and real, and a strong trend towards it is observable. For once the tables are turned, the social drift is *from* Islam. We read—and how significant is the fact to those who

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know Islam in Africa!—that “in the case of marriages it is *very usual for the Mohammedan party to accept Christianity!*”

These are grand results, and even greater are those reported from Java, where by preaching, the sale of Scriptures, and medical work, eighteen thousand Mohammedans now living have been won over to Christianity, many of them at great cost and under severe persecution. The conversions *from* Islam number three hundred or four hundred annually, and conversions *to* Islam are rare.

Work among
women in
Mohammedan
lands.

The women in Moslem lands need help in every direction. There is some distinction to be drawn, at least in external appearance, between the work to be done in lands like India, where Christian and civilising influences have had large indirect results, and such countries as Persia and North Africa where Mohammedanism has full sway. Yet the same methods, adapted somewhat differently, should be used in all work among Moslem women.

(1) Medical
missions.

Take first the work of medical missions. This may be divided into four parts: work in the women's hospital, work in the harems and homes of the people,



NATIVE CHRISTIAN TEACHER AT BEDSIDE, TANGIER HOSPITAL

dispensary work, and village itineration. The following pictures might be multiplied indefinitely: they illustrate the open door in these so-called "closed" lands, and the overwhelming need.

"After breakfast we begin with prayers — the general confession, a prayer or two, and the Lord's Prayer in each ward. Those patients who have been in some time join as a rule in the Confession and the Lord's Prayer, and even the most bigoted seem to feel that it is well to begin the day's work with prayer, at any rate they can feel that they are not in the hands of infidels. Then the doctor goes her rounds, accompanied by the very capable Armenian girl-assistants. Here is a badly burnt child, next a little boy with both arms fractured. There lies a woman waiting for a serious operation, here is another who has undergone one a few days ago. Here is a patient convalescent after a bad abscess, that one has a baby who has been torn by a jackal, and so on. Very patient and grateful many of them are, and very fond of the doctor and nurse and their assistants, but some of the new-comers are at first inclined to grumble and disobey orders.

"If it is operation morning you will see all carried out quietly, carefully, methodically, as in an English hospital. The operating theatre and instruments are as clean as they can be anywhere, and you seem for the moment to have left Persia. The wards are clean too, and the patients wear clean hospital clothing—Persian clothing. The only thing we miss are the chairs, they sit on the floor. In the after-

(a) A day in hospital in Persia.

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noon, while the doctor is out visiting, the Armenian assistants are in the hospital, and the nurse, or another missionary, or one of the Armenian girls, takes a reading in each ward and teaches the people. The doctor seldom has time for this herself except on Sunday. The evening closes with prayers after supper.

(b) A morning's
visiting.

First on to-day's visiting list is the house of a rich merchant. I am admitted to the larger compound where the family live, the smaller is reserved for the men, and there they receive their visitors. I am shown into the large reception room beautifully carpeted. The samovar and tiny tea things are set out at one end of the room. I am led up with many greetings and salaams to the end furthest from the door, and placed on a chair (the only one, specially brought from the men's quarters for me) close to the window. The lady of the house inquires after my health, and that of each individual member of my family, and answers similar inquiries on my part. Then the same routine has to be gone through with her daughter-in-law, and again with a second daughter-in-law, and again with two friends who are present. Then, having accepted the honour done to me by the provision of a chair, I slip down to the floor beside them, and desultory conversation follows till tea is ready. Up to this point my attempt to turn the conversation to medical matters fails, but every one having had a cup of tea we go on to business, and prescriptions are given. It is getting late, but now comes the opportunity for reading and a Bible talk, and all assent, and listen attentively.

"Next comes a wretched hovel—in one corner is a great pile of pomegranate skins, and close by lies

an old woman helpless with rheumatism and sciatica on a pile of filthy rags. There is a bit of ragged matting over part of the floor: the fowls are walking about the tiny room quite at home there. No neighbours come in this time, the poor old body is alone and neglected, only attended by a ten-year-old grandchild.

“Now to the house of a big government official—his women are kept very closely in their quarters. The cry goes round that the Khanum has come, and all quickly gather for one of the few excitements they get. Sherbet and tea are unavoidable; eagerly do they welcome medical help and talk from the outside world, but they are glad, like the rest, of reading and a talk on religious matters. The visit has to be cut short—there is yet another to pay.

A bigoted Seyyid has his little daughter ill with diphtheria, and the fear of losing her has made him call in the hated mission doctor. In spite of the infection, the room is crowded with women and children come to express sympathy with the parents, who are influential people. This visit is strictly medical—the child is quickly stopped from accepting a safety pin that has caught her fancy—all round are looks of suspicion and dislike. Any attempt at religious topics is discouraged. But as I rise to leave, tea is offered and refused, then a whisper is overheard: ‘She thinks them unclean, she will not drink tea in their house.’ To speak again of risk of infection would be quite misunderstood, it has been mentioned already and listened to with obvious unbelief, so there is nothing for it but to try to show our Lord’s readiness to deal with all men by taking the tea.

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(c) A dispensary
day in Shiraz.

“ We breakfast at 6 a.m. in our own house, conscious that from twenty to forty patients are already waiting outside the dispensary, some thirty yards down the street. By 6.30 a.m., when we go over there, sixty or seventy patients are sitting in the courtyard wrapped in their chadars. After prayers medical work begins : in our dispensary we make a great point of seeing each group of patients in private, this takes a little longer, but is found to be worth while. While I see patients, a helper calls for all the ‘eye-cases’ from the courtyard, and collects them in another room, so that I can see them very quickly, as nearly all are the same— various stages of granular lids and entropion.

“ Meantime I see the people in order of arrival in groups of two or three. Here we have a poor little nine-year-old victim of the iniquitous child-marriage system, who will never fully recover. Then a dozen chronic cases, followed by a child with incipient tuberculosis. Then comes a very typical case, a well-to-do woman whose husband has taken a second wife because she has no child. ‘I will pay anything you like, if only you will enable me to have a child’—such a common cry. I have a special day for these cases, and every week see thirty or forty of them. This woman has seen her fellow wife among the crowd, and begs me not to tell what she has come for if I am asked. Later on the second wife comes with a similar request ; it is a race for supremacy in the home. Then there is the woman whose husband is going to divorce her if she has no child soon—he cannot afford to keep two wives, as in the previous case. And so the work goes on till 4 p.m., when the dispensary is closed.

"With the very serious cases, it is almost impossible to deal without an in-patients' department, which we had not in Shiraz. We had for a time a single room, partly carpeted, partly covered with rough matting, where we had a few 'beds,' no bedsteads, just bags filled with straw, and rough cotton quilts. Here we took in dying cases from a distance for their last days, often only their last hours, alleviated by such measures as we could take, instead of leaving them to die on the rough journey home. More cheering were the few cases we took in for cure, who almost always did well.

"It was only a tiny village! We did not mean to do any medical work, we had brought no drugs, having come for a holiday after long bouts of fever in the town. But they came to us—begging so for something for a sick baby in the village, something for a woman in great suffering who had come six miles to see me, something for a man who was losing his sight, and so his means of livelihood, and so on, and so on. We secured a few drugs; the news spread to all the little villages round, and every day we had a party of about twenty for prayers, and afterwards for treatment. The Christian teaching roused no opposition, scarcely even an objection, they felt it good, very good. But it was only a sprinkling—was it enough to sink in? We left after a fortnight. (d) Village work.

"When we went with itinerating outfit, we held regular dispensaries in larger villages, and all the villages for miles round sent in their patients."¹

The fringe of the work in Persia with its

¹ From notes by Mrs Napier Malcolm, M.B., Lond.

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eight million inhabitants is barely touched. There are three properly equipped British (C.M.S.) medical mission stations, in Ispahan, Yezd, and Kirman, besides American medical work. Of the results Miss Stuart, the lady doctor at Ispahan, writes :—

“The mullahs are as a class bitterly opposed to us, but even they will send for us to attend them when ill, and their opposition is only a sign that our work is having such an influence on the hearts and minds of the people that they dread to lose their own. Not long ago one of the more enlightened mullahs was preaching in a mosque in Ispahan, and after referring to the fact that many Moslems were accepting Christianity he said : ‘There is only one way to stop them. It is not by opposing and persecuting them,—that will only make them stronger. We must *copy their methods*, we must build hospitals, and open dispensaries, and care for the poor, the sick, and the dying as they do, for only thus can we keep our religion alive and retain our hold upon the people.’ . . . They are actually beginning. . . . They have opened a hospital and dispensary not far off, but as their doctors have had no training in western medicine or surgery it will be some time before they succeed in drawing the people away from us, in spite of our dreaded Christian teaching.”

Afghanistan.

Afghanistan is an almost untouched land, —women doctors and nurses are badly needed. Till now in Bannu there has been only a man doctor, yet forty or fifty women

attend the mission hospital as out-patients nearly every day—Hindus from the city, and Mohammedan women from the villages, often from very great distances.¹

Medical missions have been dwelt on at length because at present in Mohammedan lands they create the open door, and because of the hopeless, weary suffering among Moslem women, which everywhere cries out for help.

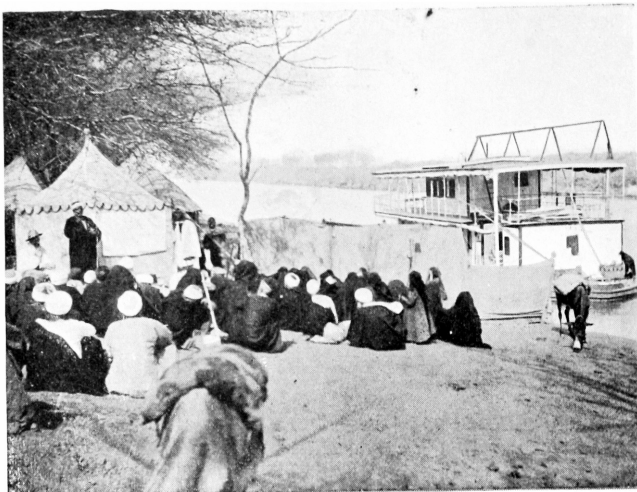
Practically there is very little higher edu- (2) Education.
cation, as we understand it, among Moslem women. In a great number of countries the girls will come to a mission school until they are from ten to eleven years old (in some countries till fifteen), when they are betrothed. Then if they belong to the upper classes, confinement to the house begins ; if to the lower, they probably stop coming to school even earlier. Hence for educational work, house to house visiting is the only chance of educating the women, and here often the trained industrial worker as well as the ordinary teacher is needed. Music too is of real value, often bringing an opening for Christian teaching later on.

¹ See Dr Pennell's book, Chap. XV.

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To some extent India has greater opportunities for higher educational work than other lands. Miss de Sélincourt writes from Allahabad:—

“A striking feature at the present time is the increasing desire for women’s education in the Mohammedan community, and the increasing readiness of Government to promote it, e.g. : *In the United Provinces*, regulations have just been issued (April 1908) by the Education Department of Government, offering generous prizes and scholarships to induce Mohammedan women to take Government examinations and be trained as teachers. There is urgent need for a larger supply of women missionaries with the qualifications and training necessary to keep (or bring) our educational work up to the standard of modern requirements. Otherwise we cannot hope to continue to enjoy our present opportunities, either in zenanas or schools. There is still a place, and a large place, for really *efficient* missionary educational work. A striking example of this is the latest development in the Isabella Thoburn College, Lucknow. The Mohammedans have for some time been urging them to open a hostel in connection with it for their daughters. Government also approached them, offering them a large grant if they would conduct the hostel on purely secular lines, and talked of opening one of their own, if the missionaries would not agree to their terms. The missionaries stood out, and *now* Government has withdrawn its restrictions, given them the grant, and declared its willingness to recog-



VILLAGE ITINERATING WORK AMONG MOSLEMS, LOWER EGYPT
CATECHIST PREACHING. DISPENSING TENT. MISSIONARY'S HOUSE-BOAT



MOSLEM GIRLS UNDER CHRISTIAN INSTRUCTION, SUDAN

nise the hostel instead of starting a Government one. This hostel for Mohammedan girls will, it is hoped, shortly be opened, and the missionaries will have an absolutely free hand in the matter of religious teaching. It will be, I believe, the first hostel of the kind in North India, and Government is anxious to see others set on foot. It shows clearly that, if we can but secure a really first-class educational standard, and the prestige it brings, we can take the tide 'at the flood,' and exercise untold influence upon this movement for education. . . ."

The women delegates at the Cairo Conference of 1906 make the following appeal :

"We feel that an outcry against the cruelty and injustice of men is not the way to meet these evils. There is no remedy but to bring the women to the Lord Jesus.

"The number of Moslem women is so vast—not less than 100,000,000—that any adequate effort to meet the need must be on a scale far wider than has ever yet been attempted.

"We do not suggest new organisations, but that every Church and board of missions at present working in Moslem lands should take up their own women's branch of the work with an altogether new ideal before them, determining to reach the whole world of Moslem women in this generation. Each part of the women's work being already carried on needs to be widely extended—trained and consecrated women doctors, trained and consecrated women teachers, groups of women workers in the villages, an army of those with love in their hearts,

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to seek and save the lost. And with the willingness to take up this burden, so long neglected, for the salvation of Mohammedan women, even though it may prove a very Calvary to some of us, we shall hear our Master's voice afresh, with ringing words of encouragement,

“‘Have faith in God. For verily I say unto you that whosoever shall say unto this mountain, Be thou removed, and be thou cast into the sea, and shall not doubt in his heart, but shall believe that these things that He saith shall come to pass, he shall have whatsoever he saith.’

“‘Nothing shall be impossible unto you.’”

So be it.

QUESTIONS FOR CHAPTER VII

1. Enumerate the difficulties of Christian work among Moslems mentioned by Mr Reid. How should these be met?
2. Describe the Azhar University-Mosque. Why is it so important? What methods of work should be used among its students?
3. Discuss the place that literature should take in work for Moslems.

4. What is being done to reach Moslems through the strengthening and purifying of ancient Christian churches?

5. "Islam is challenging the Christian Church to a struggle for the possession of Equatorial Africa." Give facts to prove this statement. State clearly how far the Christian Church has adequately responded in Western, Central, and East Africa. What is the present position?

6. There are twenty millions of Moslems in China. For them, (a) What has been done?
(b) What should be done?

7. What agencies are at work in Central Asia? Which of these are the more important, and why?

8. There are about 100,000,000 Moslem women. What methods are employed to reach them? Enumerate the *extent* of work, showing by facts how far the Church has seriously faced her duty to them. What should be done?

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CHAPTER VIII

HOW SAVE IT ?

(3) *The Impossible-Possible Problem, and the Spirit of Jesus*

The problem
of Islam.

THE reader has surely gathered, in the course of studying the preceding pages, the reality, the paramount seriousness, and inevitableness, of the problem of ISLAM to the Christian Church. He has also probably wondered, with whatsoever he is capable of wonderment, at the fact that it is, nevertheless, *this* problem, which of all others has been repudiated, blinked, and shirked by the Church of Christ. It is idle to speculate on the ultimate reason for both the existence of the problem, and the behaviour of Christendom in the face of it. It is also unnecessary to recapitulate the medley of reasons which have been, and are still, advanced in favour of the very facile policy of laissez-faire : it is palpable that the worst of these are the offspring of no faith in Christianity, dislike of trouble,

or secret cowardice ; and that even the best of them would not stand for a moment when intellect, heart, and spirit have been honestly submitted to the spirit or the letter of the New Testament, of Christianity, of Christ. Already we have mentioned those reasons with their varying degrees of sincerity. But there is yet one—it may, or may not, be the sincerest of them all—which has not been mentioned ; one voice that is always with us—the voice of him who says, “ I allow all you say—but—the Time has not come ” ! Often that voice belongs to one to whom “ the Time ” is as a horizon that ever retreats ; it never does “ come,” nor is there in fact desire that it should ever come. But this voice sometimes belongs to those who only need the encouragement given by information and by knowledge to be turned into sane enthusiasts, who know that the Time *has* come, and that the day of action, as of salvation, is To-day.

Whether then for such, or for ourselves, this book, and more particularly this chapter, is written. Action is such an enormously responsible and serious a thing

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that it is no wonder if a man refuses to be committed to it unless intellect, heart and spirit have been convinced, and are at rest.

Facing the
problem.

It would seem a strange way of stimulating action, to mass and to focus the facts which cow and discourage it. Nevertheless that is what we are about to do. It is written :

“What king, as he goeth to encounter another king in war, will not sit down first and take counsel whether he is able with ten thousand to meet him that cometh against him with twenty thousand ?”

We are now going to take careful and deliberate stock of that twenty thousand. But was this stock-taking intended by the divine Commander to discourage action ? Surely, to call it out ; to awaken dormant energies, unsuspected heroisms ; to inspire shame of that so miserable army of ten thousand, and thus to urge the calling out of the infinite resources and unknown reserves which are available to reinforce it.

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Challenge of
Islam.

“Islam is the only one of the great religions to come after Christianity ; the only one that definitely claims to correct, complete and supersede Christianity ; the

*only one that categorically denies the truth of Christianity; the only one that has in the past signally defeated Christianity; the only one that seriously disputes the world with Christianity; the only one which, in several parts of the world, is to-day forestalling and gaining on Christianity.”*¹

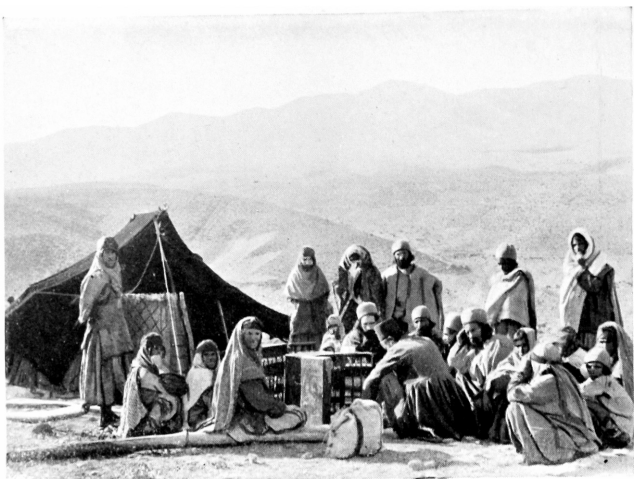
These words, taken from a recent summary of the problem and the reproach of Islam, sum up the main reason why Islam is a *unique* problem to the Christian Church; unique in its urgency, unique in its difficulty. It cannot be treated like any other: it baffles more than any other, for it is more difficult to concede to it what is gladly conceded to other religions that appeared before Christ, that they in some sort prepared and prepare the way for Him. How can that which denies the whole essential and particular content of His message be said to prepare for Him, or to be a half-way house to His Kingdom? For that is what Islam does. Other religions know nothing of Christianity; one and all they came before it and speak of it neither good nor evil. But the whole theory of Islam is that it,

¹ The Moslem Menace. C.M.S. Series, “Day of Opportunity.”

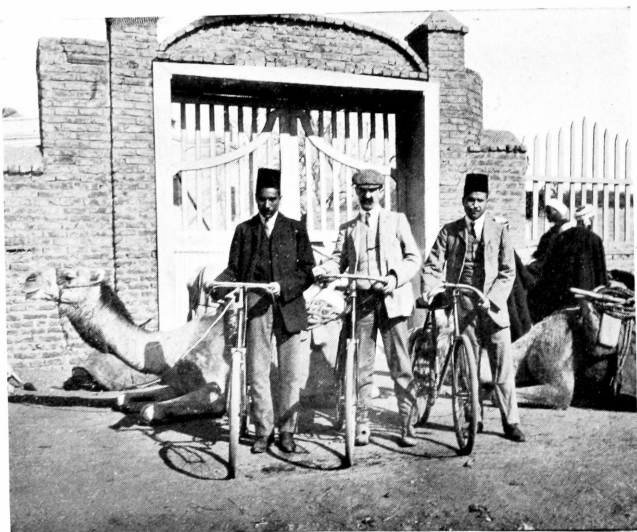
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the latest-sent of all religions, does not so much *abrogate* Christianity with its Book, as specifically and categorically deny both as wilful corruption and lies. Point by point, each truth of Christianity, steeped through and through with the tenderness of the love of God, is negated with abhorrence by Islam;—the Fatherhood of God ; the Sonship and Incarnation of Jesus Christ ; the Divinity of the Holy Ghost ; the death of Christ and all that it means, whether ethically—of love, infinite tenderness, infinite self-sacrifice ; or spiritually—of sin condemned, and sin forgiven ; the Resurrection of Christ on the third day ; His glorification with the Father with the glory which He had with Him before the world was—each several truth of these truths is a blasphemy in the eyes of every Moslem, a lie which Islam came expressly to blast, taught by a Book which the Korân came expressly to replace.

It is easier to convince a man of that of which he knows nothing in particular, than of that which he firmly believes to be definitely false. Add to this, that Islam actually succeeded in displacing, humbling, and destroying that which bore the name



AN ARMENIAN CHRISTIAN DISPENSER ON TOUR



MODERN METHODS OF ITINERATION, EGYPT

of Christianity in many lands ; and so Moslems became yet further convinced of the weakness and ignorance of Christians, and of their disfavour with God. The rise of the Christian nations has done nothing to dispel this, for Islam puts that down to anything but their religion. It therefore burns with a two-fold desire to revenge its own humiliation on the unbelieving nations whose yoke is on its neck, and to vindicate its own still unfulfilled claims to universality and supreme victory.

To universality. For with the possible exception of Buddhism, no other great non-Christian religion seriously cares whether it becomes universal or not. Some indeed expressly repudiate universality. Islam alone claims it, and actively and ceaselessly works to make good its claim. Do we need any more words as to the inevitableness of the problem of Islam ? But as to its seriousness ? Back to that Church-mosque at Damascus whence we took our start ! See where a Cross once stood, and where there stands a Crescent to-day ! That sight stands for, and typifies, what every Moslem sees inwardly, and believes he has the right to see actually, when he looks at the Cross

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on every continental Cathedral spire, every English Minster rising from the sweet silent Close, every village church, from whose belfry-tower the chimes come like a benediction over the hamlet nestling at its feet, and the meadow-lands smiling in the sunlight beyond. . .

So much for the problem's *inevitableness* : so much for its *seriousness*. But this is not all. What has been told does not tell yet half the *difficulty*.

Difficulty of the
problem.

We have to remember that the Moslem knows that his religion arose in the full light of historic day. His intellect goes back to, and rests on, the undoubted historic fact of Mohammed, the Arabian Prophet who was given a Book from heaven, the authenticity of which none denies, the strangeness of which, as coming from Mohammed, none questions. Here are phenomena, universally admitted, which seem to him a conclusive proof of divine action. The very absence of miracle is becoming a matter of boast to him. Mons. So-and so is telling him that Islam is the only rational religion that does not ascribe to its founder an irrational miracle—it only claimed the rational miracle of the Korân itself. And so forth. All this

gives the Moslem hard ground on which to plant his feet in denying and rejecting any other faith, and adds to the strength with which he cleaves to his own.

Nor is this all, or nearly all. Add to this the simplicity and the rigid definiteness of the creed to which the Moslem invites the world's adherence. Islam simplifies with a vengeance! "*There is no god but Allah, and Mohammed is the Apostle of Allah*": a child can learn it in a moment, and to its vigorous negative exclusion, and simple universal assertion, a meaning can be instantly attached. It seems to require no explaining, no elaboration; it can never be forgotten; the densest intellect can hold on to it; and to it moreover an infinite virtue and value has been solemnly attached. The Moslem has as little demand made on his intellect as on his moral faculty: his is the ideal religion for "the plain man," "the man in the street,"—those familiar figures who in reality stand for the man who dislikes having to take *trouble* in religious matters.

Not that the Moslem spares trouble in his religion; but it is of the kind that costs human nature least, and especially oriental

(a) Simplicity of Moslem creed.

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human nature—obedience to a fixed, rigid, and invariable series of ordinances and prohibitions. He has not the trouble of asking why, or of looking for principles. He need not keep a vexatious conscience which continually asks him if he is keeping the *spirit* of God's Will.

(b) Low moral
standard of
Moslem creed.

This only brings us to aspects even more bitter to contemplate in the light of our present purpose. For this fatal simplification which Islam makes in creed and code leads naturally to a further contrast, that between the *propaganda* of the two religions—between their task and ours. Let us face this thing; let us look at it until we are veritably overwhelmed by the superhuman odds against Christianity, the impossible handicap which the spirit deliberately assesses against itself in its contest with the flesh. For it stands to reason that this externality and simplicity must give Islam favour in the eyes of the sons of Adam, especially the unnumbered millions in Africa to-day, for whom such a creed, and such a code, are in addition to their facility and the poverty of their demands, an undoubted step beyond the incoherence and chaos of their native animism. To

such, the new religion, which gives them a standing in the world of men, whose simple creed gives them intellectual satisfaction, while its code deals lightly with the fundamental lusting of the human heart, is irresistibly attractive. They flock into it, and it is content to let them flock in by the thousand, no question asked, no scrutiny prescribed in regard to motives. . . . *Motives!* that is for Allah to judge, not man. For Mohammed emphatically forbade the rejection of *any* man who professed Islam by repeating the Kalima (The "Word," *i.e.* Creed); and Islam has joyously followed his lead—much *it* cares for the state of soul of him who makes his profession! Are not his children certain to be Moslem to the core? And so Islam spreads and spreads. Against a propaganda such as this, what chance has a religion which demands the surrender of the whole man, the subordination of flesh to spirit by the branding of the former with the slave-mark of the Cross; which searches for the "one" sheep—for individual souls; which insists on the importance of *principle*, the duty of loving the *spirit* of the commandment of Jesus? No wonder Moslems boast,

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all over the Moslem world, of the religion which spreads with so divine a spontaneity, and point with contemptuous pity to the painful efforts of Christianity, the portentous outpouring of energy on the part of its devoted agents, with the pitifully incommensurate results. As one Moslem writer in Cairo put it, speaking more truly than he knew, "Christianity opposes, Islam follows, the current of human nature."

(c) Low moral
standard of
Moslem propa-
gandists.

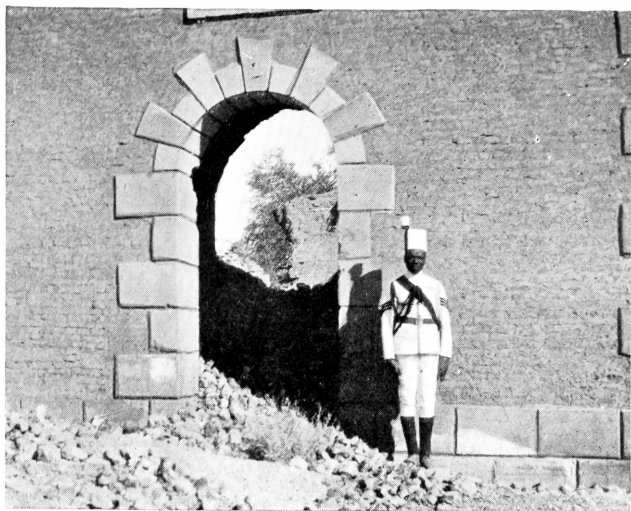
But this is not all. Not only is a simple moral standard demanded from the proselyte, but an equally simple standard is allowed to the proselytiser. What is the moral standard, do we suppose, of the Arab traders and ex-slavers, the Sudanese malams, who spread the faith in West and East Africa? It may be good, indifferent, or downright bad—yet in each case alike the man may be a highly successful worker for Islam. Where little is expected, there is no disappointment. So we get the strange fact that bad men may be fervent professors of Islam—tyrants, bullies, liars, fornicators, men of blood, but fanatics for the religion of Allah and his Prophet, consigning heartily to Jehannam all others—such men may be and are real promoters of Islam.

We may admit, and earnestly lay to heart the admission, that those men at least are willing to receive into fraternity the wretches they have wronged, or still wrong. It may be at bottom a tremendous proof of the divinity of Christianity that the "Christian" trader, living in sin, is not and cannot be an advertisement of his religion, and that moreover he neither calls himself a Christian, nor cares if he be known as such, or no. The fact remains that Islam can, and does, use instruments which Christianity must deliberately and necessarily refuse. What shall we call such a contest as this? One is tempted, again and again, to turn away with a groan, as the French general did when he surveyed what was essayed at Balaklava—"It is magnificent, but it is not *la guerre*."

Yet even this is not all. This is not the only point in which our Christian propa-^{(d) Barrier of culture.}gandism seems positively to defeat itself by its high standard: we have not yet considered the simplicity of *their* culture and race problems, the complexity of *ours*. Christian culture—in the high sense that includes character—is a thing of long growth, with roots far back in the past, and deep

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down in Christ, Who is the Truth, not only in religion, but in knowledge and in art as well. He who has that culture cannot if he would, should not if he could, divest himself of it. And yet how often and how often the messenger of Christ feels it a veritable barrier between himself and those to whom he comes. The very thought that there are whole realms of soul-life which he cannot impart to these people, into which they can never enter, is, more than he realises perhaps, a discouragement to him; more than they realise, an obstacle to them. A gulf seems fixed—can it indeed be crossed, or narrowed? Thus it is that the very complexity of European culture at its simplest—the glorious successes that its centuries have won—seem often to be solely a hindrance in the field of missionary action. Body and mind, and not soul only, demand in fact a minimum which, as the missionary almost in despair observes, seems to place him in a different class from the people with whom he longs to show his unity in the Christ. What chance then has Christianity against those whose religion brings a culture that is the simplest and most superficial thing imaginable, so that it



THE MAHDI'S TOMB, OMDURMAN



"THE GATE OF THE SUDAN," PORT SUDAN

seems to the savage just so superior that it must be coveted, and not so superior that it must be despaired of? Does even the effect produced by the self-emptying of the Christian after the fashion of his Lord, counteract these things? Can that renunciation ever be complete enough to be so much as noticed by the very people whose attention it is supposed to arrest?

Enough!—yet there is more. For at the heels of this simplification of the culture-^{(e) Barrier of race.} problem comes a weightier matter still, a more grievous handicap than any yet mentioned—the simplicity of the *race* problem for Islam; its complexity for Christendom. It is not mere pride and prejudice that have forbidden the mixing of white with black or brown or yellow. It is gravely to be considered whether nature herself—and God is behind nature—has in the past blessed the banns in such mixtures, or will do so in the future. Is this a small matter in relation to the subject of our enquiry? Consider! Why is it that the Moslem occupation of a country has always meant the gradual and unimpeded Islamising of its people, whereas the occupation of an African or Asiatic country by a Christian

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European nation, so far from having a corresponding effect, seems to have the very reverse? We hear it wondered at that ‘*even*’ the prestige of Christian conquerors is insufficient to recommend their religion. “Even!” It is that very prestige that damns it, because those conquerors are conquerors *who will not mix with their conquered*. There is no mingling of families, there are separate castes. And separate castes have separate gods. A father can with ease impose his religion on his family throughout the East, but those who remain outside the family life (which is the social life) of the people they rule, will be indeed *outsiders*, and their religion will be indeed foreign. And how deep is the loathing of a nation for a foreign religion: it is the religion of their eternally foreign conquerors! Here too, then, Christianity has all the handicap against it, for this very thing is Islam’s strength. No law has seemed to forbid the mingling of Arab and other Moslem races with whatsoever nations they settled amongst. Syria, Persia, Egypt, North Africa, Negro Africa, Mongol Asia, India, Malaysia, all tell the same tale:—the Moslem host enters;

the conquest is made ; the conquerors assume all the posts of government, *and fill their harems with the women of the land.* (A Moslem may marry an "unbelieving woman," but not *vice versa*. Notice the deep world-wisdom of this rule.) In one generation, under these circumstances the sore of conquest has probably been forgotten, and once "thy people are my people" is realised, "thy God is my God" follows. Thus was it when the first Moslems conquered Persia, Syria, and Egypt ; thus was it when Moguls conquered India ; and Fulahs the Sudan. Thus is it not with Christians. Consequently the religion of Moslems spreads like a natural product, and with the greatest celerity, while the religion of the Christians has against it, and most of all in the lands where Christians rule, the whole force of that hatred which is entertained by those who feel the stigma of inferiority to be hourly obtruded through the conqueror's veto against intermarriage with their race.

And as if this were not enough, Chris-^(f) tianity, the more it realises the meaning and the character of the Kingdom of Christ, becomes the more scrupulous in disclaiming

Barrier of
State neutrality.

the interest and the aid of the state, as such, in prosecuting the work of her King. No doubt it was not always so. But now in propaganda in Moslem or heathen lands, Christians often have the rulers of their own creed against them, or in armed neutrality; only rarely in anything like earnest sympathy. How shall so scrupulous a religion contest for the world with Islam, which identifies religion and state-craft in a theocracy where all law is religious law? Even in these days the iniquities of slave-raids, slave-captures, and slave-concubinage are—and the writer thinks perfectly soundly—justified by their perpetrators by the 9th Sura of the Korân. Christianity has abjured the methods of physical conquest, and encourages the rulers of state neither to make difference between man and man, nor to discriminate against anyone for changing his religious faith. When supreme in any realm, Islam has at its disposal, and without scruple uses, the whole machinery of the state, by rewarding those who profess it or turn to it, and by loading with an hourly sense of inferiority and contempt those who refuse to conform to it. It makes death the

portion of the man who abandons it, and the portion of the woman imprisonment till she recant, or till death steps in to end her misery. Such is Islamic canon law to-day, and it should be distinctly understood that every inroad made by civil law into canon law is made in Islam's despite. Whether canon law can, or cannot, be enforced, such is the spirit of Islam, the spirit that animates all Mohammedans against those who preach in their midst another religion than their own.

Were ever souls in this humour wooed? Summary of conflict.
 Were ever souls in this humour won?
 Were ever such odds as these? How colossal seems the sheer mass, how irresistible the momentum, of this awful league of nature, the world, and the flesh! What avails *spirit* against such forces as these? Why must we for ever renounce all the favourable conditions, giving, like the Scottish King at Flodden, *all* the advantages to the opponent? Why must we strive always up the hill with the sun for ever in our eyes, the wind and rain for ever driving in our faces? Ever, ever conceding, never, never taking, the handicap and the odds?

Forces of the
Church :—the
Spirit of Christ.

So, in effect, argued the Ten. But the wisdom, as well as the courage, was found with the Two, with Joshua the son of Nun, and Caleb the son of Jephunneh. If Islam's forces are indeed nature, the world, and the flesh, then Islam has left to us one weapon, in taking away all the others—it has abandoned to us the sword of *the Spirit*. The Two considered that as enough. "Their defence is removed from over them, and the Lord is with us : fear them not." The Spirit of Jesus is the only asset of the Church.

Thus we say in faith, *Nil desperandum Christo duce*. And, turning to the work itself, we encounter many facts that bear out this supreme encouragement of the invincibility of the Christ.

(a) Open doors.

By far the greater part of the Moham-medan world is perfectly open to missionary work. Practically the whole of Asiatic Islam, except parts of Afghanhistan and of the peninsula of Arabia, receives, or would receive, the messengers of Christ's Gospel : and the same may be said of African Islam, with the exception of a part

of the Sudan. And these exceptions—how soon may they not cease to be exceptions? At any moment a turn in the political wheel, some daring and original individual exploit, may open up these countries also. But is the Church proving her willingness and ability to enter even the doors that are open to-day?

Again, most of the important strategic centres are occupied by at least some representatives of the Gospel. Mecca and Timbuktu on the Niger are perhaps the most important exceptions, but is it not wonderful to think that such great spiritual or social centres as Constantinople, Damascus, Beyrout, Jerusalem, Cairo, Zanzibar, Baghdad, Ispahan, Bokhara, Lahore, Delhi and other great Indian Moslem centres, are also centres of work carried on in the name of Christ.¹ Every one of these centres needs strengthening to an indefinite extent; but the fact remains, they are occupied.

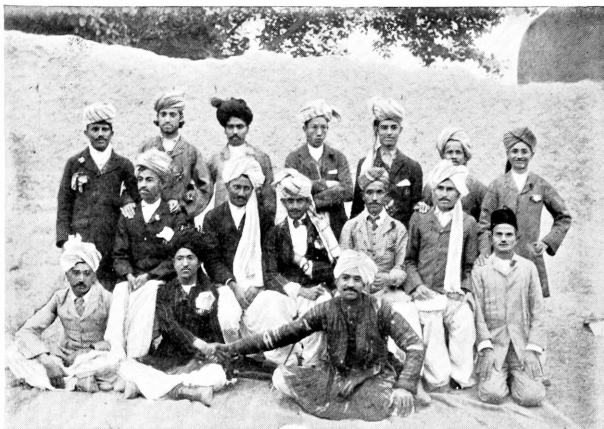
Again, the language problem is not so insuperable a one as some other missionary language problems. The languages spoken by Moslems are relatively few, and the

(b) Language problem simple.

¹ Cf. Zwemer's "Islam," p. 215.

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Bible has been translated, in whole or in part, into nearly all of them. "The Beyrout press alone has issued over a million volumes of the Arabic Scriptures since it was founded; the demand for the Bible in Persia, Arabia, Egypt, and the Turkish Empire is phenomenal." The Arabic tongue, itself spoken by over 45,000,000 Mohammedans is read by many more; and if the Mohammedan revival results in increased study of Arabic all over the Moslem world, that will only give increased prestige and opportunities of circulation to the Bible itself, and to other Christian books, *in Arabic*. Well might D. M. Thornton be an enthusiast for harnessing the Arabic tongue, turning that own weapon of Islam against Islam's own bosom. Dr Zwemer tables twenty main Moslem languages, or twenty-eight, counting dialects, into which the Bible has been already translated in whole or in part. The Korân on the contrary is rarely translated; and when it is, it sometimes merely loses its prestige in the process. We have seen, too, how a growing body of literature, in the tongues most spoken by Moslems, is gradually getting into their hands in all parts of the House



MATRICULATION CLASS, BANNU HIGH SCHOOL



GROUP OF CHRISTIAN WORKERS IN BAGHDAD

of Islam. The seed is indeed being sown; who knows what is germinating silently underground?

Add to this the hundreds of thousands of Moslem hearts, which are touched and disarmed every year by the ministries of Christian hearts and Christian hands in school, hospital, and dispensary all over the House of Islam; and the many who in book-depot, or bazaar, or preaching-room listen quietly to the doctrine of Jesus quite apart from such ministries of teaching or of healing. What might it not be if a new anointing of the Spirit of Christ were given to-day, like that of Pentecost, to all these ministrants, giving to their every word and action a grace that were itself an argument not to be resisted or gainsaid? Why should we not expect, in answer to our prayers, the anointing of Mohammedan converts with the fulness of that Spirit, to be as prophets to their own people? Dr Pennell says, after speaking of an Afghan Moslem convert, Abdul Karîm, martyred because he would not deny Christ, that a public acknowledgment of Christianity in Afghanistan would mean death, and probably a cruel death.

(c) Numbers
of Moslems
reached.

“At the same time I believe that the Church in Afghanistan will not be established till there have been many such martyrs, who will seal their faith with their blood. When the news of the death of Abdul Karîm reached Bannu, more than one of our Afghan Christians offered to go over into Afghanistan and take his place, as herald of the Cross, and bear the consequences, but I pointed out to them that the time was not yet.” Is the time perhaps near at hand? More and more prayer is needed for the outpouring of the Spirit on all converts from Islam that they may be used of God as apostles for the evangelisation of their own kindred and their own people.

(d) Moslem converts.

And then we have the actual results; those thousands in Malaysia and India; those groups wherever honest and courageous work has been done. Is not the earnest sufficient? Does it not sufficiently shatter the continual contention that “to convert a Mohammedan is impossible?” We have, too, on every side the testimony to their quality when won—what brighter stars have there been among Oriental converts than the old man,¹ Imâd-ed-Dîn of India, the

¹ Cf. “A Mohammedan brought to Christ,” C.M.S.

young man,¹ Kâmil Abd-el-Masîh of Syria ? What was possible in the past, is possible in the future—nay, on a greater and continually increasing scale—not only possible, but certain, if only the Church is worthy of her calling and her Lord.

For verily great names have led the way to the saving of Islam, men of faith who even at times when all, *all* was against them, looked neither to the left nor to the right, but went straight forward ; for they endured, as seeing Him who is invisible. Francis of Assisi, Raymund Lull, Francis Xavier, Henry Martyn, Karl Pfander, Valpy French, Ian Keith-Falconer, Peter Zwemer, Douglas Thornton—these are names of right noble men who have passed to their everlasting reward—these, with many a living name that might be added to theirs, challenge us to accomplish even more than they accomplished, by just as much as our opportunities and means are greater than theirs, while the Spirit of Jesus was not more theirs than ours. And, indeed, it does correct and dispel the blank misgiving which besets

(e) Heroes of
the past.

¹ Sketches of Indian Christians. Christian Literature Society of India.

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us when we see what remains to be accomplished, and the mountainous obstacles in the way, to look back only a hundred years and see the marvellous progress that has been made. We climb the mountain-side with painful steps and slow, the summit seems so far;—it is not until we look back and down that we see how much has been accomplished.

“ Say not the struggle nought availeth
The labour and the wounds are vain.
The enemy faints not, nor faileth,
And as things have been they remain.

If hopes were dupes, fears may be liars ;
It may be, in yon smoke concealed,
Your comrades chase e’en now the fliers,
And, but for you, possess the field.

For while the tired waves, vainly breaking,
Seem here no painful inch to gain,
Far back, through creeks and inlets making,
Comes silent, flooding in, the main.

And not by eastern windows only,
When daylight comes, comes in the light,
In front, the sun climbs slow, how slowly,
But westward, look, the land is bright.”

Conclusion.

What then will it not be when the Church
as a whole has realised that she exists to

evangelise the world? When by God's voice in sermon, address, organisation, missionary study in church and college, the whole Church realises that every true member is responsible for world evangelisation, and that every Christian who goes abroad in any capacity is a foreign missionary? When the hint given us by Islam is spiritually fulfilled, and Church members, whether they be administrators, or soldiers, or merchants, or mechanics, or clerks, are "dismissed" to their spheres of work to make them into spheres of service, places where, directly or indirectly, they will do all they can, be it little or be it much, to forward the conscious end, shared by them with the whole Church, of "making Jesus King"¹ over all, and though "Islam defies your King,"² King over Islam.

Yet more, Look Upward.

For in the long last, the Spirit is mightier than the flesh, as God is mightier than man. The stone which the builders rejected shall

¹ Motto cabled to S.V.M.U. Conference at Liverpool, 1896, by the Scandinavian Student Christian Movement.

² Motto cabled by Cairo Student Volunteers to the London Conference, 1900.

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become the head-stone of the corner. The Spirit of Jesus has been deliberately left by Islam to the Church, and so even He whom the warriors have rejected shall be the chosen Leader and Power of that Church. There is no other. Yet do we know what we ask? It means that we are claiming a right to have it said to us, "*Ye are they which have continued with me in my temptations*"! For verily the bare contemplation of this problem of Islam is, until death relieves our watch, an abiding on the mountain-top of Temptation with the Lord. Even while we read the first half of this chapter, were we not in spirit there? Nay, is there on earth anything which so nearly as the contemplation of the problem and reproach of Islam reproduces for us the situation that faced the Redeemer on that Mount? He, too, was shown a whole world of men in a moment of time, as we have been shown: He, too, saw with piercing clearness, as we have seen, the monstrous dead-weight of the natural forces of world and flesh which by mere *vis inertiae* or sheer brute power threatened to overwhelm His whole work: He, too, knew what it was to feel that these advan-

tages must be ever conceded, never claimed—even when, cruelly tantalizing, they were lying ready to hand: He, too, knew what it was to fall back on the *Spirit*, to realise and to confess that *only* by what seemed like Weakness must all that strength be met, *only* by the foolishness of the Message, *only* by the scandal of the Cross: He knew what it cost to confess deliberately that “The weakness of God is stronger than men,” and “The foolishness of God is wiser than men.” He knew all this: He made the choice: He chose Spirit-power, and rejected all else. By *that* He chose to save the world with all its forces, cost what it might.

So, then, Islam is the greatest call the Church ever has had, or will have, to look to Him who is invisible—to come to an understanding and realisation of the meaning of CHRIST. In a score of ways, the reproach of Islam that lies upon us day by day, calls us back to explore His forgotten secrets, and to realise what He in Himself is. Most of all it calls us to a closer association with Christ Himself—to that continuance with Him in His temptations,—to learn *what* is the Kingdom of God,

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Who is the Spirit of Jesus. If this be so, is Islam itself too great a price to have had to pay for the lesson? And if the Church is brought truly to learn this lesson, she will face the reproach of Islam, with shame and sorrow indeed, but without dismay, for she will, in so learning, learn also the secret of Christ's Victory, and will prove in herself the power of His Risen Life. When the SPIRIT OF JESUS is set free to work, the issue is assured.

.

And so we come back in thought to that Church Mosque at Damascus, from which we took our start, and read again that inscription which is both instruction and pledge :

“THY KINGDOM, O CHRIST, IS A KINGDOM OF ALL AGES.”

It is a prophecy that was unconsciously endorsed by that old Sheikh of the College Mosque of Bokhara who said to one who had caused him to read the Book of the Christians :—

“I am convinced that Jesus Christ will conquer Mohammed. There is no doubt about it, because Christ is King in Heaven and on the earth, and



MOSQUE OF KAID, CAIRO

His Kingdom fills Heaven and will soon fill the earth."

So be it.

And now let us go hence.

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PRAYER FOR MOSLEMS

Almighty God, Who didst rebuke the sins of Christians of old by delivering the lands of the East into the hand of a strange people ; have mercy on all unbelievers, and let the day of Thy power come speedily, when the hearts which now seem most obstinate in error shall be subdued to the Gospel of Christ.

Send forth Thy Spirit, and raise up Thy Church in every country where it lies prostrate in weakness, and restore again the golden candlestick which Thou hast removed, and cause it to burn before Thy Presence with so pure a light as may cover the lands which were Thy heritage of old, and may penetrate everywhere among the people who now sit in the dark shadow of Islam.

Hear us, O Father, and glorify among the Moslems the Name of Thy Only-begotten Son, Jesus Christ, to Whom, with Thee and the Holy Ghost, be ascribed all honour and glory. Amen.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF SOME IMPORTANT EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF ISLAM, AND OF MISSIONS TO MOSLEMS

ISLAM	MISSIONS
A.D.	
570 Birth of Mohammed	
610 Mohammed's first "Revelation"	
622 The "Higra" or flight to Medina	
630 Capture of Mecca	
632 Death of Mohammed Abu Bakr, Caliph	
634-37 Conquest of Syria	
635-42 Conquest of Persia	
640 f. Conquest of Egypt	
651-750 Omayyad Caliphs at Damascus	
711 Mohammedan rule in Spain	
732 Battle of Tours—Europe saved from Islam	c. 754 Death of John Damascene
cent. Moslems spread in Central Asia and China	c. 830 Apology of Al Kindi
749-1258 Abbaside Caliphs' rule (Baghdad)	
1019 Mahmūd Ghazni enters India	
1055-1300 Rule of Seljook Turks	(1096-1272 The Crusades)
11th cent. onwards. Islam spreads in Western Sudan	c. 1157 Death of Petrus Venerabilis, Abbot of Clugny
Early 13th cent. Mongols under Jenghiz Khan overrun Central Asia	1220 St Francis visits Syria
1299 to present time. Turkish or Ottoman dynasty	1235-1315 Raymund Lull
1369-1405 Tamerlane, Mogul conqueror in India	
1453 Fall of Constantinople to Turks	
1492 Mohammedan rule in Spain ends—Fall of Granada	
1507 ff. Islam spreads in East—Borneo, New Guinea, Celebes, India	
1527-1707 Mogul Empire in India	1552 Death of Francis Xavier
1683 Turks defeated before Vienna	
1691 Birth of Mohammed Abdul Wahhāb	
1757 Battle of Plassey—British Empire in India	
1750 ff. Spread of Islam in Negro Africa under Fulahs	1781-1812 Henry Martyn
1839 Aden taken by British	182 American Missionaries at Smyrna
1878 Treaty of Berlin	1825-65 Pfander at work
1881 Rise of Mahdi (Khartum)	1880 Founding of North Africa Mission
1882 British occupy Egypt	1887 Death of Keith-Falconer
1885 Death of Gordon—Fall of Khartum	
1898 Fall of Mahdi—British occupy Sudan	1891 Death of Bishop French
1900 British protectorate over Nigeria and Hausa-land	1906 First General Conference of Missions to Moslems

APPENDIX A

MOHAMMEDAN STATISTICS

To obtain an accurate account of the total number of Mohammedans throughout the world is impossible. No regular census of the population has been taken in many countries in which Mohammedanism prevails, and, the available statistics for many other countries are now considerably out of date. Especially is there uncertainty with regard to the numbers in the Sudan and in China. Careful estimates have, however, been made, and these point clearly to the fact that there must be at the present day from 200 to 250 millions of Mohammedans. In the report of the Cairo Conference ("Mohammedan World of To-day") the total estimate is given as 232 millions, and in Jansen's "Verbreitung des Islams" a very carefully detailed estimate brings the number (A.D. 1897) up to 259 millions. Other statistics more or less agree, so that, speaking generally, we may say that Mohammedanism is the religion of one-seventh of the entire human race.

The following appendix (B) makes use of the statistics in the report of the Cairo Conference, in Jansen, and in the Statesman's Year Book. Special mention should be made, however, of the statistics relating to Europe and Africa. The usual estimate for Europe, excluding Russia, is upwards of 3 millions, but Jansen, including Russia and estimating the numbers of Mohammedans in European countries other than in the Balkan peninsula, gives the number as high as 11 millions. The estimate given for Africa, following the report of the Cairo Conference, is probably a low one. Jansen, estimating for the year 1897 gives the number as 76 millions.

APPENDIX B

TOTAL MOHAMMEDAN POPULATION OF THE WORLD

	Total Pop.	Moh. Pop.
EUROPE¹—		
Turkey in Europe . . .	6,130,200	2,050,000
Balkan States . . .	23,949,611	1,360,402
<i>Total for S.E. Europe . . .</i>	<u>30,079,811</u>	<u>3,410,402</u>
ASIA—		
Asia Minor	9,089,200	7,179,900
Syria	3,675,200	1,053,100
Armenia	3,470,900	1,795,800
Mesopotamia	1,398,200	1,200,000
Arabia ² —	6,262,079	6,253,193
Persia	9,500,000	8,880,000
Afghanistan and Beluchistan	4,500,000	3,982,448
India	294,361,056	62,458,077
Ceylon	3,578,833	248,040
Russian Empire (including West Turkestan)	149,299,300	13,906,972
Bokhara and Khiva	2,050,009	2,000,000
China (including East Turkestan)	433,553,030	20,000,000
Malaysia	44,627,587	31,042,144
<i>Total for Asia</i>	<u>965,365,394</u>	<u>159,999,674</u>

¹ For Russia see figures under Russian Empire.

² Figures for Arabia are taken from Jansen.

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AFRICA—

(a) Countries N. of 20° N.		
Lat. Egypt . . .	9,734,405	8,977,702
Other countries . . .	14,069,557	12,752,080
(b) Countries between 20°		
N. Lat. and Equator .	78,169,876	33,060,024
(c) Countries between		
Equator and 20° S. Lat.	52,276,481	3,840,000
(d) Countries S. of 20° S.		
Lat.—9, All Islands .	9,486,364	233,708
<i>Total for Africa</i> . . .	<u>163,736,683</u>	<u>58,863,514</u>
Australia		19,446
America		49,563
		<u>69,009</u>

TOTAL FOR MOHAMMEDAN WORLD 222,342,599

Total in Europe (except Russia) about $3\frac{1}{2}$ millions.

Total in Asia	160	„
Total in Africa	59	„

APPENDIX C

POLITICAL SURVEY OF THE MOSLEM WORLD

I.—*Under Christian Rule or Protection.*

Great Britain	{ in Africa, 17,920,330 } { in Asia, 63,633,783 }	81,554,113
France	{ in Africa, 27,849,580 } { in Asia, 1,455,238 }	29,304,818
Germany, in Africa,	. . . . .	2,572,500
Italy, Portugal, and Spain, in Africa,	. . . . .	722,177
United States, in Asia,	. . . . .	300,000
Netherlands, in Asia,	. . . . .	29,289,440
Russia, in Europe and Asia,	. . . . .	15,889,420
Greece and other States, in Europe,	. . . . .	1,360,402
Australasia and America	. . . . .	68,000
Total under Christian Rule, .		<u>161,060,870</u>

II.—*Under Non-Christian Rulers other than Moslem.*

Africa,	. . . . .	2,950,000
Chinese Empire,	20,000,000
Siam,	1,000,000
Formosa,	25,500
Total under Non-Christian Rulers,		<u>23,976,500</u>

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III.—*Under Turkish Rule.*

Europe,	2,050,000
Africa,	1,250,000
Asia,	12,228,800
<hr/>	
Total under Turkish Rule, . . .	<u>15,528,800</u>

IV.—*Under Other Moslem Rulers.*

Morocco,	5,600,000
Oman and Nejd, &c., . . .	3,500,000
Afghanistan,	4,500,000
Persia,	8,800,000
<hr/>	
Total under Other Moslem Rulers, .	<u>22,400,000</u>

NOTE.—The above figures have been copied from the report of the Cairo Conference, with the exception that the estimate of 20 millions for China has been adhered to.

APPENDIX D

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH IN THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE

THE Orthodox Church (or as it was sometimes called, the Melchite = Imperial or Royalist) was that section of the Christian Church which was situated in the Eastern Division of the Roman Empire. It held sway in the south-eastern corner of Europe, in Asia Minor, and surrounding countries, and thus occupied the home of the earliest Christianity. Gradually, however, owing to the growing political differences with the Western Roman Empire, and owing to the difference in the national temperament between the East and the West, it became separated from the Church in the West, and thus arose the division which still exists at the present day between the Orthodox Church and the Catholic Church of Rome.

The Orthodox Church was originally divided into four patriarchates, the centres of which were Constantinople, Jerusalem, Antioch, and Alexandria. The language of this Eastern Church was Greek, and the Greek spirit prevailed throughout. As a result of this there gradually sprang up vital differences between the countries which were essentially Greek and those to whom the Greeks appeared more or less as conquerors. In Syria, Egypt, and the eastern parts of Asia Minor there was a growing antipathy to the predominance of the Greek people, a feeling which was felt all the stronger after political power disappeared from the Western Roman Empire, and Constantinople, as a result, became the centre power in the East. To these national differences was added the divergence of views in religious beliefs and in opinions regarding

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ecclesiastical authority. Thus arose those controversies which led to the existence of various sects of Christianity and made easier the victory of Islam in those lands which gave birth to Christianity.

In the patriarchate of Antioch there arose the heresy of Nestorius which spread throughout the extreme east of the Byzantine Empire and ultimately prevailed in Persia the home of the Chaldean Church. The Nestorians extended Christianity far into Central Asia, to India and even to China. In Syria arose the *Jacobites* representing a Church which was essentially national in spirit. It broke away from the Orthodox Church after the Council of Chalcedon A.D. 451. At the present day the Church still exists in the hands of the Tigris and Euphrates. Closely related in doctrine to the Jacobites was the Coptic Church which in the same way represented the rise of a national Church in Egypt. As is mentioned elsewhere (p. 11), they still form an organised Church in Egypt, with their Patriarch at Cairo. An off-shoot of the Coptic Church is seen in the Ethiopian Church of Abyssinia.

In Armenia, where Christianity was introduced by Gregory, religion was from the beginning closely bound up with the national history of the people. In the same way, therefore, as in these other countries, the Church in Armenia broke away from the Orthodox Church, and adopted that interpretation of the Incarnation known as *Eutychianism*, from the name of its first promulgator.

APPENDIX E

SERMON OF KUSS IBN SÂ'IDA (*see* p. 43)

“ O YE people, draw near, and hear, and fear !
 Who lived, is dead ;
 Who died, hath fled ;
 What shall be, shall be sped.
 Whereof to us are read
 Signs not to be gainsaid,
 Rain shed, plants fed,
 Male and female wed,
 Time flying and time fled ;
 Stars that set and rise,
 Sea that never dries,
 Roofed above, the skies,
 Earth below that lies,
 Evening and dark night,
 The Twelve Signs of light.¹
 How do I see men die, and fly,
 And never come again eternally !
 Tarry they there for love of their asile ?
 Or for that there they lie in durauce vile ?
 O mortals, say,
 Where are the tribes to-day
 That once did disobey ?
 Fathers and fathers' fathers, where are they ?
 Ingrates ! for good received no thanks to pay ;
 Oppressors ! neither turned they from their evil
 way ! ”

Moreover Kuss sware by Allah, saying: “ Verily,
 Allah hath a religion more well-pleasing to Him than this
 your religion.”²

¹ The Zodiac.

² Translated from the Arabic of El-Jâhiz (*El Bayân*, i. 119),
 who expressly records that Mohammed says himself how vividly
 he remembered the scene, the man, and the words of the sermon.
 The subject matter, style (rhymed prose), tropes, and whole effect
 of the latter recall the Korânic Suras of the first period, and (if
 the sermon is genuine) must have surely suggested them.

APPENDIX F

MOHAMMEDAN SECTS¹

TRADITION relates that Mohammed declared that, as the "People of the Book" were divided into seventy-two sects, his own followers, who must excel them in everything, would form seventy-three, and that only one of these seventy-three would escape Hell-fire. The question *which* is to escape has never yet been authoritatively settled. Moslem authorities say there are *now* one hundred and fifty sects, but there may be even more. We deal with only the principal ones.

The Moslem world is broadly divided into Sunnits and Shī'ites. The latter are found mostly in Persia, where theirs is the established religion. They are far more sub-divided than are the Sunnis. The main point of difference is that, rejecting the first four Khalifahs, the Shī'ah sects holds that 'Alī, the fourth Khalifah, Mohammed's son-in-law, was the "Prophet's" due successor. Hence instead of regarding the Khalifahs as "Vicegerents of the Apostle of God," they revere 'Alī's descendants, who with himself are termed "the Twelve Imāms." The two parties differ also in the collections of Traditions (*Ahādīth*) which they accept. The Sunnis condemn *mut'ah* or temporary marriage, which their opponents approve of. The Sunnis hold that everything must be decided by an appeal to the Korān, Tradition, or authoritative deductions therefrom. They are more legalistic than the Shī'ites. The latter are more inclined to admit ideas from without. They admit the need of an

¹ By W. St Clair Tisdall, D.D.

Atonement, holding that Hasan and Husain's deaths effected that. Incarnation theories have developed among not a few Shi'ite sets. One of these worships 'Alî as God. They hold in general the tenet that they may conceal or deny their faith when life and property are otherwise in danger. Abû Kâsim, the twelfth Imâm, is said to be still alive, and is expected to reappear as the Imâm Mahdî.

Of the Sunnis there are four "orthodox" sects, the Hanifîs, the Shâfi'is, the Mâlikis, and the Hanbalîs, which are really schools of interpretation of the Law. The founder of the Wahhâbi sect was a Hanbalî. He endeavoured to reform Islam by abolishing Saint-worship and restoring it to its original state. This necessitated the use of the sword. The Wahhâbîs overran Arabia, capturing Mecca and Medina in 1803. Their power was broken by the Turks in 1818, though in 1826-31 and in 1863 there were other revivals of the sect in India and Arabia. They are not bound by the views of the "orthodox" sects, but hold that each man may judge for himself from a knowledge of the Korân and Tradition. Mohammed will at the last day obtain permission to intercede with God. They recite the 99 "Excellent Names" without a rosary.

The word [darvîsh] means "poor," and the various Orders (or, as they are called, "Ways"—*tarîqât*) may be compared to the Mendicant Friars of the Middle Ages. With Mohammedanism they have intermixed many ideas ultimately borrowed from India. They are mystics, who aim at attaining some special degree of knowledge of the Divine and ultimate absorption in God. By their peculiar practices they have obtained popular names, as the "Howling," the "Whirling," the "Dancing," etc.,

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Dervishes. By these methods they hope even here to attain to a condition of ecstasy, and this is often promoted by the use of *hashish* (bhang). The first of the ten chief ancient Orders was founded in 1150 A.D. It is styled the Qâdiriyyeh. The Dervishes who in the Sûdân followed the Mahdi to the death were of this and the Khalvatiyyeh Order. Each Dervish submits himself absolutely to the bidding of his spiritual "director" (*murshid*) as strictly as do the Jesuits. The places where the members of an Order meet and sometimes reside is called a Zâviyyeh.

The "Sanûsiyyeh" Order, founded by Mohammed u's Sanûsî, is now the most formidable of all the Dervish Orders. Its founder attained celebrity in Fez about 1830. He was excommunicated by the Shaikhu'l Islam, but established a Zâviyyeh at Jarâbûb near Sîwa, to which flocked zealous disciples from all quarters. When he died in 1860, his community was already an object of dread to the neighbouring countries. It is now especially powerful in Tripoli and Fezzan, is bitterly hostile to Christian and, indeed, to all foreign influence, and may head the threatened Pan-Islâmic struggle when it comes. It is certainly at the present time the mightiest force in the Islamic world. The Senussis are famed for blind obedience to their chief and unlimited fanaticism.

The Sûfis are the Mystics of Islam. They are mostly professed Shi'ites, but in reality they are Pantheists or Freethinkers. They profess to aim at union with God, to be attained by absorption and loss of personality. A stage in their spiritual progress may be reached (they hold) at which all religious observances are needless. They pervert the Korân in order to support their own Pantheistic tenets. For example, from Sûrah xxiii. 151,

"Verily we belong to God, and verily unto Him do we return," they profess to prove their doctrine of emanation and absorption (*isfâ*), saying that this "return" to God is like that of the raindrop to the ocean from which it came and in which it is finally lost. Their teaching leads to the denial of any moral distinction between good and evil. Many of the explain away the After-life, the Resurrection, etc. The system can be traced back to the ninth century.

One of the Shî'ite sects in Persia is that of the Shaikhîs. This holds that there must always be a *Bâb*, or "door" of communication between the Imâm Mahdî and his people. When the latter, during his "lesser disappearance" (between 879 and 940 A.D.), was absent the first time, he thus spoke by deputies. So he should now. Mirza Ali Mohammed of Shiraz, about 1843-44, laid claim to be the "Bâb" in this sense, and hence his disciples are styled Babis. Later he claimed a higher title, adopting and developing the Isma'îlî doctrine that, as Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and Mohammed were incarnations or manifestations (*mazhar*) of the Divine Reason, so was the Bâb. Still more is this claim made for his successor Bahâ'ullâh ("Splendour of God"), whose disciples are the Bahâîs. The Bâb was executed in 1850. The Bahâî movement is very influential in Persia. They profess to place the Old Testament, the New Testament, the Korân, and their own books on a level as inspired by God, but they allegorise away our Lord's Resurrection and claim for the Bahâ Divine honours.

The Mu'tazilite sect was founded by Wâsil in the ninth century. His followers denied the Moslem doctrine of Fate, and affirmed freedom of will and of action. They were Moslems only in name. The

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Neo-Islamic school in India claims to be a revival of this extinct sect. They reject Tradition, and profess to found their belief solely on the Korân. But they have been greatly influenced by European Rationalism. They deny the miraculous, and are rather Deists than Moslems, and bitterly opposed to Christianity.

APPENDICES (A) AND (B)¹

(a) RELATION OF ISLAM TO PANTHEISM

Chap. IV. Between pages 134 and 135.

If the conception of Allah as Will-Power is seen in the moral sphere, in His dealings with man, that apparently free agent, it is seen still more in the physical sphere, in His dealings with the world of Nature. Just as every particle of matter was created from nothing by His direct decree, so every cause and every effect is directly the sole work of God. That Almighty Will pervades the entire universe, and not merely sustains, but actually causes, its every action. And so the blind action of a falling stone, and the deliberate action of a living man, are utterly indistinguishable in respect of Allah; they are both alike the effect of the One sole source of universal causation—the Will-Power of Allah. It is not surprising that one writer, in contemplating this system, exclaimed that it is simply a Pantheism of Force. It is not surprising that some thorough-going philosophers in Islam have, as a matter of fact, resolved the whole thing into a pantheism pure and simple; that the cry *Allāhu akbar* (God is most Great) means really that no element of force resides in aught, but only in Him; that the *Huwa 'l Hakk* of the ecstatic dervish (He is the truth), really means, He is the sole Reality,—nought exists except Allah. This is indeed what is at the bottom of all the *Sûfi*, or mystic movement in Islam, which chiefly flourishes in Shi'ite Persia. They are at bottom pantheism pure and simple, and the Moslem *Sûfi* is own brother to the Indian Yogi: to each God is simply the Absolute, the One and All; to be reabsorbed into and lost in It is the ultimate object of the soul.

(b) RECENT CRITICISM OF THOROUGH-GOING DEISM

Page 140. Before 'God as Holiness.'

And in recent times the conviction that this hard deistic doctrine of God is barren and dishonouring has steadily grown, in proportion as it has been realised how non-moral are the notions of Will and Power in themselves. Power, for example, may stand for the strength of a brute, the mechanical force of an engine, the passionless energy of the laws of nature; in short, is in itself a physical category, unless united ever and always with

¹ Space forbade the insertion of these passages in the text of Chapter IV.

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Holiness and Love. It is the absence of these elements that makes the Islamic notion of divine Might appear practically identical with mere physical force. While as for Will, has not Christendom, ever since Schopenhauer delivered his message, been unable to admire, much less adore, the mere arbitrariness of pure Will,¹ the mere imperious "Thou shalt, not because it is right or good for thee or Me, but because it is My reasonless pleasure!" She has been taught to hate such a thing in her earthly kings; and the Spirit of Jesus has not bid her see it or adore it in the King of Kings. Behind the divine Will, Christ's Spirit has shown to her Love and Righteousness ever standing. It is before the Will of the *Father* (not the Despot) that the Christian, in the Spirit of Jesus, bows and says with adoration, "Not my will, but THINE be done!"

Cf. Rom. viii.
2-8.

In fact, modern Christian thought has more and more come to feel that loveless will-force is the contradiction, the very opposite,² of Christ's revelation of God. And one recoils from the conception of the almighty "Sultan of Heaven," and takes refuge in the deep bosom of Him in whose very essence the eternal felicity and beatitude of love in Father and in Son, through the oneness of a Spirit of Holiness, was, is now, and ever shall be, world without end.

¹ And, indeed, Schopenhauer's terrible conception of the Spirit of the Universe as a blind, blundering Will, always self-assertive, and always dealing out suffering and death in that self-assertion, reminds one strangely of the immeasurably mighty Allah with His unmitigated Will and Power. For a fierce satire on this sort of deity see Browning's "Callban on Setebos."

² Wagner, a typical son of his times, found too much of Islamic theology lurking in modern Christianity, and thought that the idea of God itself was too dearly bought at such a cost. In his "Parsifal," the forces that are fighting against the Christian ideal of self-abjuring love, in the name of self-assertive will, are represented typically as residing in the *Moslem* region of the earth.

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*The latitudes and longitudes are given in degrees, and are only approximate—
especially in the case of provinces, rivers, etc.*

A refers to Map—"The Near East."
 B " " "The Mohammedan World."
 p. 6 " " "Early Centres of Christianity."
 p. 281 " " "Africa."

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Antioch .	36	36	A, p. 6	Celebes .	2 S.	120	B
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